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On September 8-10, 1966, some 50 correctional administrators, ex-offenders, and behavioral scientists met at Asilomar, California, to explore the problems and issues in using offenders and ex-offenders as staff in correctional agencies. Prepared and distributed to all participants prior to the workshop were six position papers. The papers covered six issues involved in building offenders into staff positions: (1) selection, (2) training, (3) personal adjustment, (4) community relationships, (5) agency staff relationships, and (6) administration. Each issue was presented by a panel, then discussed in both small groups and in the large group. These proceedings include both the position papers and summaries of the study group and total group discussions. An appendix contains papers by two participants who discuss an innovative use of the offender in correctional development. (BP)

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THE OFFENDER:
AN ANSWER TO THE CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER CRISIS
Implementation Issues

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Its Implementation

Sponsored by

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Six position papers were prepared and distributed to all participants prior to the Workshop. The papers covered six issues involved in building offenders into staff positions: selection, training, personal adjustment, community relationships, agency staff relationships, and administration. Each issue was presented to the Workshop participants by a panel chaired by the author of the relevant paper, following which the total group broke up into six study groups led by discussion summarizers. The summarizers then fed-back the study group activity to the total group for further discussion and evaluation.

The proceedings include both the position papers and summaries of the study group and total group discussion around each of them.

An appendix contains papers by two of the Workshop participants which discuss a particularly innovative use of the offender in correctional development.

Guy de Vry
Editor

The opinions expressed in the proceedings do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency or the National Institute of Mental Health.

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SETTING THE TASK

J. Douglas Grant
Richard A. McGee

THE FRAME OF REFERENCE

Richard A. McGee

California Youth and Adult Corrections Agency

My function at this moment is largely the ceremonial one of expressing pleasure at your presence. I'm not only speaking for the California Youth and Adult Corrections Agency and all of its pieces, but also for the Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency of which I am the President, and J. Douglas Grant is a member of the Board. We were two of the originators of that non-profit corporation, and it has become a much bigger animal than we anticipated. And it looks like it's going to become even bigger.

At the time of incorporation, it was part of our strategy to do some kinds of studies and researches that are not easily accomplished within the constraints of the bureaucratic government. The governmental administrator cannot afford that kind of deep involvement because it would force him to neglect other important areas of administrative concern. And so we felt that we would be performing a very real and a very necessary function.

There are two things that an administrator must do. First, he must keep an eye on the over-all context of things, for if he doesn't and something goes wrong, it will lead to trouble and criticism from places that may be difficult to deal with. Second, he must have a good political sense; that is part of the business of surviving in a bureaucratic government with its fields of forces. A political sense enables him to develop an instinct of timing which will tell him when to do things, and when not to do them; it conditions him to await the appropriate moment at which to begin a new course.

People have often heard me say: "That's a whale of a good idea, but not right now!"

For instance, I would never have been foolish enough to try the New Careers Project in our correctional system back in 1945, 46, or 47. At that time we didn't have a strong enough position; we didn't have a good enough reputation; and there were a lot of other issues that had greater priority. Now, however, we are moving into a period in which change and innovation are demanded of us, and now we can do things that we wouldn't have dared twenty years ago.

The idea of using inmates to help themselves and to help others is not a new idea. I went into Leavenworth many years ago--without help or welcome from the administration, I might add--and started an educational system. At the end of six months, I had nearly a thousand people engaged in classes of all kinds. I didn't do it alone; the prisoners helped me. They wrote the correspondence courses, taught classes, kept roll, and did the things that are ordinarily done by a faculty of thirty.

But ... what is new today is the fact that we are now paying more and more attention to what happens to the inmate after he leaves the institution.

How great a manpower resource are we actually talking about? Let me give you some statistical data. At present, California has more than 25,000 adult prisoners in its institutions; it has 6,000 youths in its Youth Authority institutions; and it has about 25,000 under parole supervision. There are several thousand people on commitment under the Civil Narcotics Act, and there are somewhere between 145,000 and 150,000 who are under probation supervision. In California alone then, we are talking of about 200,000 people at any given minute. (Since California has about 9 or 10 per cent of the nation's population, you may want to exterpolate this to the rest of the country.) We cannot allow this manpower resource to operate by chance; nor can we hope that in the stress and strain of the situation the inmate will find his own way. If we ignore the situation, then we will continue to have more of the failure which has pervaded this whole field ever since somebody started to keep books on it.

There is very little decent measurement being done in the field of corrections. Most of the people who become involved in it become so dedicated that pretty soon they resemble missionaries. A missionary can easily measure how many of his wards get back into trouble, but it's awfully hard for him to measure how many of them actually make it to heaven. We have to build more research components into our programs.

One of the reasons why this has not been done was expressed by a police chief some time ago. He said: "This is the last time that I'm going to get trapped by my own pistol."

In this business, one of the facts that we must have courage enough to face is the fact that objective measurement may prove that, in a given program, we may be getting worse results than if we hadn't done anything. That's hard to take, true; but we've got to face it, and your presence here today shows that you are willing to face it.

There are going to be pitfalls for us ... and some pratfalls, too ... and therefore I think it important that we never oversell a program. When we do that, then the least little failure will give someone an excuse for tossing out the whole program. Anyone who employs people knows that there will be some failures among them, and I think we should realistically expect that for some of the participants in our programs.

Finally, I think it is very important for us to get participation from the people in industry, in labor, in commerce, and in the professions. We must get them to accept the products of our correctional system. I think that this is the direction in which our efforts should go, and I hope that this conference will concern itself with those kinds of issues.

THE TASK

J. Douglas Grant

New Careers Development

Offender resources

We have a task to perform. The corrections field has extensive manpower problems. Policy decisions on how to cope with these problems are being made by a national Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. One course of action which could be taken--and prove largely futile--would be to try to devise ways to compete more successfully with other professional groups for existing scarce professional manpower. Salary increases, training stipends, and other inducements might be partially successful, but they would only serve to expand what is already being done and to shift slightly the percentage of the insufficient manpower which would be available to corrections. It is unlikely that corrections can develop the power to seriously compete with health and education.

There is an alternative approach. It is based on the increasing awareness of the importance of client participation which developed from the use of milieu therapy and self-help programs. Cressey has probably stated this best for the corrections field: The way to change offender A is to involve him in changing offender B.[1]

Participation of offenders in staff kinds of roles was seen originally as a rehabilitative tool. But it became apparent that offenders could become valuable manpower in their own right. The 1963 National Institute of Mental Health sponsored conference on The Use of the Products of a Social Problem in Coping with the Problem (Crime and Delinquency)[2] discussed some of these manpower uses. One of the outgrowths of that conference is the present New Careers Development Project which, again with NIMH money, has brought this group together.

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[1] Donald R. Cressey. Changing criminals: the application of the theory of differential association. American Journal of Sociology, 1955, 61, 116-120.

The potential of offenders as correctional staff is amply shown in The Offender as a Correctional Manpower Resource.[3] This publication describes offender roles which vary all the way from running correctional data processing centers through administering correctional treatment programs to training other offenders to work in the corrections field.

The evidence for the productive manpower resource of the offender is conclusive. In addition, there is growing data to support the rehabilitative value of using the offender as a participant in the correctional process. In the New Careers Development Project, sixteen of the eighteen trained offenders have been working in the community as program development assistants for periods of from six to twenty months. At the same time, seven of ten control subjects--with less time since release to the community--have been reconfined. From a beginning concern with treatment issues we have moved to manpower utilization and are now returning to the rehabilitative implications of manpower use.

For this workshop it can be assumed that the case has been made for the offender as a correctional manpower resource. Our task is to clarify and develop ways to meet the issues of implementation. As we do this, we must think not only in terms of what resources we need today. We also must think in terms of what resources we will need tomorrow. A concern with dynamic staffing is imperative. It's not only a question of how we develop staff for our present correctional programs; it's a question of how we build to move beyond these programs, of how we cope with the demands for change that are coming out of our ghettos, the growth of automation, and the population explosion.

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[2] Experiment in Culture Expansion. Proceedings of an NIMH conference on "The use of the products of a social problem in coping with the problem (crime and delinquency). Norco, July, 1963.

[3] New Careers Development. The Offender as a Correctional Manpower Resource. September, 1966, 255 pp., mimeo.

The need for participation

Another very crucial issue, facing not only corrections but all of our efforts at living as people, is this: How do we build participation into the operation of change? I think we are becoming quite cynical about bureaucratic activities on both Federal and state levels. Our cynicism makes us see these as sort of a shell game in which fewer and fewer people determine what will happen. Many of our young people are choosing to "opt out" and are seeking meaningful experiences through the use of drugs and other means of withdrawal. This is a moment in time when more and more people need to be part of what is happening and when less and less are being allowed to take part. We certainly have a tremendous number of people tied up in military activities, but a decreasing number are used to build freeways, to produce food, or to manufacture consumer goods.

We are therefore not only faced with the problem of how we do change in a way that won't turn the whole game over to the six bright men in the country, whoever they might be...with the concomitant danger of who will select these six bright men. It seems to me that the kind of experiences that we will be sharing among us in this workshop offer considerable hope for the development of strategies that can build in the use of the many. If we can think this problem through for corrections, I think it will have implications for our society generally.

The use of opportunity

In looking at the problems and issues of tooling up for tomorrow there is one clue that I'd like to share with you. I call it: beyond the opportunity structure.

We are getting hard data, as well as looser collaborative impressions, indicating tremendous rehabilitative power in opportunity structures which allow the offender legitimate and meaningful participation. However, in reviewing the Highfields material and the Southfields program in Kentucky, it appears that any rehabilitative effect occurs with Negro offenders. We are noticing this minority group effect in our own New Careers Project. As a result of this observation, we are obtaining a ranking of our new careerists in terms of how much they had going for them prior to entering the program, and another ranking of how they made out following the program. I expect that the correlation between the two sets of rankings will be negative--somewhere around -.73. In other words, those who had the most favorable opportunity structure before coming in the program but who had difficulties with it are having the most difficulties again. This seems to indicate that we can expect interactions between kinds of opportunity structure interventions and kinds of offender classifications.

I think we are getting close to a point where we can bring together the influence and implications of the sociological viewpoint of opportunity structure and the more psychological concerns of personality dynamics, values, and identifications. Our thinking in this workshop should further clarify the "beyonds" and should suggest the next steps--for both research and practice--in the implementing the use of the offender as a correctional manpower resource.

SELECTION ISSUES:

CHAIRMAN:	Milton Luger
PANELISTS:	Mario D'Angeli Ernest G. Reimer Manuel Rodriguez
SUMMARIZER:	Gilbert Geis

SELECTION ISSUES IN IMPLEMENTING THE USE OF THE OFFENDER AS A CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER RESOURCE

Milton Luger

New York State Division for Youth

What I would like to develop in this brief paper is a summary of the experiences which we have had in the New York State Division for Youth in the utilization of ex-offenders as staff members. Reference will be made as well to other agency programs in the hiring of rehabilitated inmates but I would like to avoid theorizing and instead attempt to stick to the hardnosed problems and progress which has been made in this area.

We have had deep satisfactions, as well as disappointing set backs as we have tried to evolve this approach. While I believe much of what we, in the New York State Division for Youth, have gone through is applicable to older offenders, I would like to point out that the bulk of our experience has been with younger adolescents who have been through our program.

The Division for Youth, in its facility programs, has been faced with the same dilemma that all institutional agencies have had--that is, the difficulty in recruiting and retaining sensitive and knowledgeable staff who are skilled and secure enough to understand hostile, delinquent inmates. Frequently, in rehabilitation work, staff members exhibit conscientious efforts in their endeavors, but find it almost impossible to communicate fully with offenders because they come from and possess different cultural backgrounds, value systems, and aspirations. This situation is compounded when an agency, in its efforts to establish a truly diversified facility system consisting of community residences, as well as more isolated units, tries to hire staff in areas not easily accessible to metropolitan locales. First of all when an agency creates a unit in a more rural section, it is met with stiffening opposition because local citizenry is fearful of those offenders that will be brought into their area. Local people have had little experience with a very great majority of the offenders under care. Urban offenders are viewed as more sophisticated and worldly wise, as well as being feared because many of them are from different ethnic and racial backgrounds. In order to overcome some of this opposition and because it is unrealistic to think of recruiting most staff members from long distances with the usual salary levels offered, most agencies seek to hire as many local people as possible. While these staff members might be well meaning, sincere and stable, most often they do not understand the life styles of their charges.

Some years ago the Division for Youth, with fiscal assistance from the New York Foundation, initiated an action research program with a two fold purpose:

1. To enrich and intensify the aftercare efforts undertaken with graduates of one of our START Centers,
2. To test the feasibility of hiring graduates of this center and integrating them as staff members of the rehabilitation program.

Within this project it is on the second objective that I should like to focus.

The young ex-inmates who were hired through this project worked in the resident facility, as well as functioning as the "eyes and ears" of the Aftercare Director in the very communities to which other graduates returned after discharge. Based upon the premise that peer influences were a vital concern to adolescents, these ex-offenders sensitized and alerted the Aftercare Director to the community adjustment of other graduates. In many ways these graduates were able to communicate more easily with other adolescents than the professional director could. They were tutored by the Project Director in ways in which they could most effectively assume helping roles in relation to their peers. After being trained in interviewing skills, selected observations, report writing, and the utilization of community resources, they served as sources of "feedback" to the facility and to the Aftercare Director of the real feelings and effects of the program. They thus relieved the Director of countless casework details so that he could focus his professional talent more sharply. They did much to break down the cultural and attitudinal barriers between treatment staff and delinquent youths.

They served as concrete evidence to the youths in the program that the State was giving more than lip service to rehabilitation and had the confidence and trust to give responsible positions to those who could indicate proper adjustment and rehabilitation. Their hiring held out tangible hope that ex-offenders, if they had the potential and the interest, could aspire to a significant and satisfying work experience, rather than to the usual tedious, routine, and oft-times dead-end jobs in which most ex-offenders are placed.

A second experience with utilizing ex-offenders in "helping" roles in which the Division was involved was initiated with a grant from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. In cooperation with Yeshiva University, the Division was able to establish a Summer Youth Worker Training Program. Twenty-four youth workers with diversified backgrounds were recruited into a program designed to teach them basic skills and techniques in the child care field. These trainees were housed in rented apartments in the East Bronx, were divided into four working teams, and were guided through a series of experiences designed to increase their sensitivity and skills as workers in this field. Six of these trainees were college graduates, nine were local indigenous leaders from the East Bronx community, and nine were rehabilitated ex-offenders who had graduated from various New York State Division for Youth facilities.

A balanced program involving lectures, demonstrations, group supervision, and on-the-job experience was devised for each trainee team. College professors from Yeshiva University, supervisors from the Division for Youth, and experienced child care staff led each trainee team through an intensive learning experience. Each team was responsible for initiating and maintaining various community projects in which local children participated. Block parties were organized, camping trips undertaken, remedial instruction offered, recreational playground programs launched, athletic tournaments scheduled and a host of other beneficial efforts begun. Community schools, playgrounds, settlement houses, housing projects, and streets were utilized as the locale for these activities. Each team's experiences were digested and analyzed through team discussions led by supervisory personnel.

Research into this program attempted to discover the characteristics of successful child care workers, the techniques necessary to carry on programs of this type, and the vital ingredients required for the full utilization of local indigenous leaders in a neighborhood.

The successes and failures of these trainees were studied to ascertain the most effective manner in which future programs could operate. The post-program placement of these trainees in other child care agencies was undertaken to determine whether their newly learned skills could be utilized in their new positions. Most important, the methods whereby a group of untrained non-professional and ex-delinquent participants were welded into an effective, functioning child-care team were investigated by the research staff.

Our experience has confirmed an obvious truth. To a great extent, the characteristics required of the ex-offender who is to be considered for agency employment will depend upon the tasks you wish him to assume. We desired young men who had, we thought, achieved a degree of self worth and adequacy through our prior program efforts. We had established general eligibility criteria for their entrance into our facility program at the time of their referral to us as probation violators. In individual cases, each of these standards was violated, but in general we had sought the following characteristics:

A. Where the youth expressed unhappiness over his situation and a desire to make a better life for himself (denial by the youth of any dissatisfaction was discounted, if the Intake interviewer recognized that the youth was hiding his true feelings),

B. Where the youth exhibited some willingness to admit, even reluctantly, that his troubles were at least partly of his own making, although he might at first have projected the blame on others,

C. Where the youth showed an apparent or demonstrated capacity to relate to people--to exhibit some emotional response, even though it may have been negative,

D. Where the youth was able to establish sufficient rapport with an authority figure to discuss at least his situation with him--though not necessarily from the standpoint of seeking or accepting help at the time of interview,

E. Where there were some indications that the youth could recall his life experiences, even though he may have been reluctant to discuss them.

Conversely we looked for characteristics which would probably preclude successful functioning or adjustment. These were:

A. Where the youth's intellectual development was severely retarded.

Treatment effectiveness depended upon the young person's ability to participate in individual and group relationships. It was recognized that some youths might score low on paper and pencil I.Q. tests because of cultural retardation. We tried to screen out only those with a definite intellectual handicap.

B. Where there was a known prolonged history of homosexual tendencies.

We were not concerned here with the youth who had participated or experimented in homosexual activities, but rather the "swishy", effeminate, confirmed homosexual.

C. Where there had been chronic involvement with narcotics.

Youths whose history had shown more than sporadic involvement with use or sale of narcotics were not eligible. We felt that such youths were usually too disturbed to benefit from the program, and there was a risk under the open nature of our facilities that those with a previous extensive history of addiction would be supplied additional narcotics by outsiders. Youths who had been experimenting with drugs but who were not severely addicted were eligible.

D. Where there was a clinical diagnosis of prepsychosis or psychosis.

Intensive individualized clinical resources and programs necessary to treat youngsters diagnosed as pre-psychotic or psychotic were not provided by Division for Youth facilities.

In both of the aforementioned projects, how were these new prospective State employees selected? By whom? What criteria were utilized by us?

Our desire was to recruit potential child care staff members, and I believe these intake criteria have serious implications in this field of human relations. If we wish the ex-offender to exhibit the type of personal adequacy so vital to functioning as an individual worthy of emulation by other youths, the above criteria are applicable. This does not mean that the homosexual, for example, has no potential to serve as a staff member. It does mean that his assignment must take into account this proclivity. Administrative tasks which will not directly involve him with youths in facilities or an after care basis can be instituted. The ex-drug addict possesses a rich source of potential and appeal for others who are struggling with this problem. Several of the outstanding success stories we have had involved ex-addicts who, in helping others under our supervision, were able to confront youths slipping into the esoteric, seemingly "hip" world of drug usage. "Don't give me that 'you don't understand what it's like' story. I helped write that book," was a common utterance. As in the case of so many helping relationships, the individual (the ex-addict) preferring assistance was receiving as much help as he was giving. To be made to feel worthwhile through assisting others greatly enhanced each individual's self image. A personal sense of purpose was achieved.

From our experience in both of our projects, we agreed upon four general characteristics or conditions to be sought in those of our graduates who, we felt, should be encouraged to think of rehabilitation or "human services" as a career. They are:

1. Ability to relate to others.

It is interesting to note that this characteristic is noted by many other similar projects.[1] Loners or social isolates do not engender the climate for personal interrelationships so necessary to establishing mutual trust and confidence--vital prerequisites for our work.

2. Verbal communication skills in understanding instructions and conveying information to others.

I do not mean here the ability to absorb or regurgitate some of our social work jargon. Indeed that trait is one that we have to be constantly wary of because it established roadblocks between the ex-offender and his "new clients." Naturalness and understandable, familiar patterns of speech are solid, acceptable and valuable in a staff member. What is meant here is first the potential for disciplining oneself to understand and follow instructions rather than possessing the degree of immaturity which results in whimsical, capricious functioning. Secondly, I mean freedom from such constrictions that make communication with others labored or difficult. We have to recognize that the traditional methods of communicating expected of staff members might not be appropriate. Very often ex-offenders are handicapped by serious educational difficiencies. Their ability to read and write might be impaired. New ways need to be developed for them to report their progress, accomplishments, and problems. For example, the utilization of portable tape recorders to summarize their contacts is much more efficient than requiring them to labor over a written social case work report approach.

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[1] Benjamin, J. G., Freedman, M. K., and Lynton, E. F., Pros and Cons: New Roles for Nonprofessionals in Corrections, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, 1966.

3. An interest in helping others.

Others, (Grant et.al. in California) have indicated that some inmates admitted initially assuming positive roles to obtain favorable assignments, rather than because of any inherent or internalized desire to help others. Their personal satisfactions gained through these new roles gradually convinced them to sustain their efforts and involvement. This might well be so, but we have always sought to recognize positive, sincere desire to serve in this field, before enlisting an ex-offender as a potential staff member. Perhaps some who turned out well with us did not possess this characteristic at the outset and were able to "con" us into believing that they did. Perhaps those who turned out poorly never had it at all.

4. Evidence of a reasonably satisfactory community adjustment upon discharge from our facilities.

I have had a lot of ambivalence about this stipulation, because it has let us in for criticism and headaches. For example, some have pointed out that a successful post-institutional adjustment means that the offender can "make it" without this new work experience. But a counter argument would be that employment in the "human services" field should not be equated merely with the rehabilitation of the offender. Employment should be encouraged, because we need an individual with his background to work with and help us. We should not offer to employ him only to rehabilitate him. This approach reeks of infantilization and stultifying paternalism. Our approach should signify to him that he has had certain experiences which give him the potential to make a valuable contribution and he has to recognize that we are not interested in him because we merely want to take care or help him. Having had a degree of adequate adjustment after discharge drives home to the ex-offender that he has the ability to function well. This does not mean that he has been trouble or problem free, but it gives him the self-confidence he requires to maximize his contribution with us. It negates the criticism he will receive from insensitive staff and his peers, that he sought our kind of assignment to keep him "in the womb" and under our protection, if he can point to the aforementioned, successful hiatus. Inmates who are asked to assume quasi-staff, helping roles while still institutionalized can make valuable contributions as well, but this should be recognized for what it is-- their treatment and rehabilitation. I am not deriding this approach. It should be encouraged, because it can positively influence the involved offender as well as the institutional climate. I feel that the deepest realization of the ex-offender potential contribution will come when the fourth condition I mentioned above is observed.

There are other selection factors mentioned by others in the field.[2] Sensitivity, good judgment, intelligence, degree of identification with delinquent culture, insight into human behavior, willingness to participate, commitment to personal rehabilitation, good custody risk, physically strong, strong in character, and performance on achievement tests are all stressed by various project directors. It is important to differentiate between the potential to make a worthwhile meaningful career or contribution in this field and the tendency by us to exploit the skills and strengths of these prospective staff members. It is hypocritical to utilize them as control agents much like the frightened, inadequate teacher who pays the big bully 50¢ per week to help maintain discipline in the classroom. It is folly to expect program performance at the outset at the level we should anticipate after months of painstaking supervision and support. While in institutions, offenders cannot be asked to assume the legal and program responsibilities properly vested in staff. Thus, the aforementioned selection factors are important but need careful analysis.

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[2] Ibid.

How and by whom can selection factors be measured? Our experience has been that decisions involving the actual selection of offenders to participate are best made by many individuals who will be affected by the decision. It is not realistic to expect a warden to welcome warmly an offender assigned within his institution by anyone other than his own staff members in whom he has confidence. Thus the institutional classification committee has an important voice. But if we are seriously contemplating a full career involvement for ex-offenders who have left and whom we wish to place as staff members, the institutional staff should have at their disposal the thinking and diagnosis of the aftercare staff who worked with the individual after discharge. In the Division, we have obtained valuable advice from other ex-offenders in our projects as to the functioning, sincerity and potential of their peers whom we were considering. (We have been delighted at the seriousness and protectiveness with which ex-offenders view their new roles and involvement once personal commitment takes hold.)

Since both of our undertakings emanated from specific project grants, one individual, the project chief, spearheaded the move to locate prospective ex-offender staff members. However, he was alert to the necessity of involving facility directors, aftercare staff and other youths in the screening. We did not rely heavily upon testing or diagnostic instruments as screening devices. The instrument which we felt had the best potential (besides our first hand knowledge of and experience with each youth) was the I.E.S. test by Dombrose and Slobin. This Id-Ego-Superego instrument gave us clues as to impulse control, conscience, fantacies, views of the external world, and self images of those involved.

The Division for Youth's experience in this field is admittedly limited. It does not diminish our enthusiasm or commitment to this approach. We have convinced our State Legislature to the extent that regular tax levy funds have been made available to us routinely now to hire, at an hourly rate, our program graduates. We thus do not have to rely upon foundation grants any longer.

While this paper focussed mainly upon the selection issues involved, the program experiences of our ex-offenders in their new roles were a source of fascinating achievements and frustrating setbacks. But that's another chapter.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON SELECTION ISSUES

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The objectives that are sought will condition most fundamentally the methods that are used to select ex-offenders for New Careers positions. The necessity to spell out objectives clearly and to arrange them in some kind of hierarchical order cannot be stated too emphatically. Periodic reexamination of objectives in terms of altered conditions and newly-acquired information is equally essential if a program is to survive and to flourish. Finally, of course, every possible effort must be made to determine if the selection criteria employed produce the results sought or if alternative items might be more effective in reaching given ends.

No simple formula will serve to reduce to mathematical precision all the goals that need to be placed in delicate balance in order to inaugurate and nourish a New Careers endeavor. Certainly, among the more preeminent and compelling considerations will be those related to the survival and expansion of the program and those concerned with the manner in which it gets its designated task accomplished. Survival tends to invite caution, and too often is employed as a rationalization to preclude reasonable risks, reducing a program to servicing persons who least require it and will least benefit from it. The constant charge against groups such as the Boy Scouts, and institutions such as community centers in slum areas, is that they provide facilities for boys who would not normally get into difficulty anyway, and they exclude as trouble-makers those who could most gain from what they have to offer.

There was something of a feeling among the discussion groups at the Asilomar conference that the program of the New York State Division for Youth, outlined by Milton Luger in his position paper, provided an illustration of a cautious Scout-like pioneering effort which was taking such short, truncated steps that it foreordained its own success, but in doing so vitiated to a great extent the reason for which it was undertaken.

Debate centered primarily around the question of whether or not the Division for Youth was being reasonable in insisting that ex-offenders first establish themselves successfully in extramural positions before being enrolled in New Careers work in the correctional establishment. The reasoning behind the New York decision, reached with some "ambivalence," is laid out frankly in the position paper. Among other things, a period of employment in the community is seen as providing wider perspective to the ex-offender, primarily in terms of allowiing him to gain a clearer understanding of himself and his abilities and their worth in an environment seen as "real" rather than one constructed primarily to cater to him. In particular, though it is not made explicit in the paper, such prior employment provides alternatives to the ex-offender, so that when he chooses to return to correctional work he does so with a certain investment that flows from voluntary selection, rather than one that comes as a matter of expediency.

At the Asilomar conference, the New York strategy found little support, with criticism from the ex-offenders at the conference being especially harsh. There was particular issue with the New York view that employment of the ex-offender was "not... only to rehabilitate him." Ex-offenders insisted that rehabilitation should be the basic goal of employment programs, and their personal testimony was to the point that had they themselves not been given New Careers assistance immediately after their release from prison they would inevitably have made the dismal statistical predictions regarding their chances of parole success come true.

Selection in terms of objectives

The approach taken in New York provides a fine sounding board for consideration of various objectives of New Careers programs and the selection consequences flowing from one or another emphasis.

If, for instance, rehabilitation of ex-offenders is given top priority, then selection should be made of individuals showing the greatest likelihood of failure on straight parole when this factor is combined with their prospects of success in New Careers options. Just how such an equation may be derived at the present moment is only one of a large number of unresolved selection problems. For one thing, there is no decent information available concerning the relationship of success (measured by the crude yardstick of criminal recidivism) in New Careers endeavors and the structure of the particular New Careers group. A given ex-offender may do very well in one kind of New Careers project but fail dismally in another type, which might have a different task or a different leader or a different kind of ex-offender population, or might possess a myriad of variant personnel or structural items of significance.

In addition to the empirical dilemmas involved in selecting ex-offenders by the criterion of rehabilitation potential, there are ethical issues of no less perplexing a nature. It is, for instance, debatable if it is fair to individuals who are able to succeed easily on straight parole to pass them by in regard to attractive New Careers openings in order to enroll persons less apt to succeed under regular parole conditions. The rehabilitation stress, deeply rooted in a biblical ethos about the majesty of saving even one stray lamb, seems to be particularly unsuited as a major guideline for New Careers work eligibility.

Stress on survival as a prerequisite to public acceptance and eventual expansion of New Careers opportunities can hardly arouse much direct opposition except when the selection ingredients are spelled out in detail. Such stress would dictate recruitment of persons who, even if they fail, are apt to commit crimes against property rather than against persons. And it would suggest that "dramatic" cases of success, readily achieved, such as those reasonably likely with persons who have been convicted of certain kinds of murder, persons who have an exceedingly low rate of recidivism, should be enlisted in New Careers work.

Despite the cogent reasons behind it, a blueprint geared to survival is not apt to arouse much enthusiasm among persons concerned with innovative and imaginative techniques, such as most individuals advocating the New Careers approach. In addition, as the Asilomar conference clearly brought to the fore, emphasis upon public acceptance and survival produces programs placing considerable stress upon group solidarity, mutual responsibility, and collective guilt--items seemingly desirable on certain grounds, but objectionable in terms of privacy, freedom, dignity, and, perhaps most important, feasibility.

In such terms, to be more specific, New Careers ex-offenders are made aware of the necessity to protect their project from administrative and public criticism by reducing their failures (i.e., recidivists) to a minimum. To do so, each man is said to be responsible for the performance of his fellows. Group therapy and counseling sessions are proliferated, confrontations are routine, and psychic diagnoses and introspection are incorporated throughout the Project. The difficulty, however, apart from valid information on the likely success of such tactics, is that it accentuates the differences between the New Careers employee and the regular worker, whose psychic life is his own and who is judged on criteria related to the adequacy of his job performance.

Selection in terms of ability

It was this last-noted item--the ability to perform the given job--that most often commended itself to the conferees at Asilomar as the basic selection criterion for New Careers employment, though consensus on this point was by no means total.

The advantages of selection in terms of job skills or in terms of presumed ability to acquire the requisite skills to perform the job well are fairly self-evident. For one thing, use of such a criterion provides a rationale for New Careers work that eliminates any overtone of condescension or exploitation. For another, this use duplicates the pattern in the worlds of business, the professions, and the vocations. For a third matter, its use makes reasonably clear the basis for decisions to discontinue employment and it provides some fairly ascertainable indication of success and failure.

The disadvantages of a selection process keyed to real or potential ability to perform the stupulated job well are not inconsiderable. It has been indicated by some early research, for instance, that those talents and characteristics which would appear most thoroughly to guarantee job success in New Careers projects are precisely those which in fact portend failure. Thus, the middle-class ex-offender with a background in data processing appears less likely to remain out of criminal difficulty in a New Careers research project than a lower-class minority group ex-offender with little training, but considerable latent ability. The interpretative thread of this finding is not, of course, too difficult to discern: The middle-class offender has already shown that what he had going for him was not enough to keep him out of difficulty; for the lower-class offender a new set of inhibiting circumstances has been fashioned.

There is, in addition, in regard to superordinate stress on job skills, the long-standing difficulty that few persons have a very clear idea regarding those characteristics necessary for the successful performance of tasks such as casework and related occupational pursuits which often lie at the core of New Careers projects. First, of course, there is little agreement concerning what "success" is in such endeavors and how to measure it accurately. The result is that a plethora of unrelated, intuitive oddments of fact and myth are often brought to bear as selection criteria which have little relationship to the task. Such a grabbag is obvious in the assortment of criteria suggested in the New York Division for Youth program: The applicant is expected "to express unhappiness over his situation," to accept the blame for his troubles (regardless, presumably, of the reality of such acceptance or of the actual explanation of his difficulties). He is expected to be able to "relate to people"--an item measured subjectively by the selector and one which, however superficially attractive it may appear, has not yet been clearly tied to success in casework endeavors. In addition, indication that the youth could "recall his life experiences" was seen as an admirable qualification for employment in a New Careers program as a casework aide.

Such criteria are not under review here in order to make them an object of scorn. For one thing, they represent an attempt, however fumbling, to state some things that can be employed as guides to recruitment into a New Careers program. For another, they present a set of propositions which can be tested in order to determine their accuracy and utility. They give the individual making selections some standards by which to evaluate the varying acceptability of candidates. As such, they are an advance over many selection procedures for New Careers work and for enlistment in similar endeavors. On the other hand, their considerable shortcomings in terms of logic, job-relatedness, homogeneity, and concreteness need not be further belabored.

At the Asilomar conference, it was not the foregoing items that came in for group skepticism as much as the categorical exclusion of certain specified groups of offenders, particularly narcotic addicts and homosexuals. For both of these groups, there was a rather strong belief among the conference participants that the ability to perform the job rather than the label tacked upon the individual should be more compelling as a selection criterion.

Politics and offender leadership

Two major themes began to emerge gradually during the early conference sessions and assumed large leitmotiv proportions toward its conclusion. Both had direct implications for selection procedures. The first concerned the importance of concentrating upon social rather than individual change, and political rather than psychic issues. The second, closely related to it, dealt with fundamental issues going to the core of New Careers proposals: Why should there be such a thing as New Careers, it was asked. In particular, questions focused on determining the particular skills that ex-offenders may possess to commend them for special attention from the polity.

Fundamentally, both questions were asking for reexamination and invigoration of the "careers" segment of the "New Careers" approach. They were suggesting that there is nothing inherently "new" about New Careers programs as presently constituted, but rather that the programs represent opportunities for different persons to move with some ease and grace into old and well-established career lines, often skipping formal and somewhat ritualistic pathways. While ex-offenders may, for instance, be admirably trained by a New Careers program to perform data processing jobs, there is nothing involved in being an ex-offender that permits a person to do such a job any better than a non-offender with similar opportunity and training. Research conducted by ex-offenders when it deals with persons whose language and culture they share gains considerably from such rapport, but there is often an equivalent loss of perspective and of objectivity that accompanies too intimate and personal an acquaintance with the field of inquiry.

For such reasons, among others, the suggestion was put forward with some force that New Careers persons utilize their standing among their fellows to provide leadership in insisting upon rearrangements in the social system which would themselves ease the burden and lighten the path for others, leading them more readily to law-abiding ways. Analogies were often drawn to the civil rights movement in which forceful and articulate Negroes, rather than immersion into mainstream jobs, make a life work of altering the racial etiquette so that their fellows will not be excluded from social participation.

The lesson implicit in such a refocus of New Careers emphasis would be, of course, that selection would occur in terms of such things as an individual's personal standing among his fellows, his dedication to change, and his ability to use force and tact in appropiate circumstances.

Side by side with this theme during the latter part of the Asilomar conference, there was insistent emphasis upon the fact that the New Careers program required a variety of objectives and a variety of talents to realize such objectives, and that no single model would suffice to characterize or to provide a framework for the total endeavor. It was suggested, for instance, that subsidies might be paid to industrial concerns to add to their employee rosters ex-offenders (as well as welfare clients) until such time as such persons became fully contributing members of the enterprise or, failing that, for an indefinite period.

Summary

Little discontent seemed to be present during the conference regarding the intuitive, subjective method by which persons presently engaged in New Careers enterprises are apparently being selected. It was indicated that any correctional program involves certain calculated risks and that the better part of wisdom is to make this clear to all parties in any New Careers endeavor. There was strong and near-unanimous opposition to delaying enrollment in New Careers projects until a certain period of community adjustment had passed, though the reasons put forward for such a policy, themselves not unpersuasive, were never clearly addressed. Opposition rather seemed to be grounded in humanitarian tenets and in a thesis which insisted that the loss of salvageable human lives and talents should gainsay any such approach.

There was emergent agreement, with dissensus on the edges, that job performance or potential to do the given job well should assume high priority in selecting individuals for New Careers projects. There was a further movement toward the view that dismissal be based in considerable measure upon failure to perform the specified task adequately, though there was a strong current of belief that failure in "commitment," generally regarded as total adherence to job and job-related program goals as formulated either by the administrators or by the group itself, represented grounds for severance. There were a few passing flare-ups regarding the necessity for breast-baring confessions of sins and mistakes of current New Careers operations, mingled with a belief that such transgressions need to be viewed in perspective with counterbalancing success and seen, as well, as handicaps for public acceptance of New Careers programs at a sensitive, early stage of their development. Finally, the need for descriptive statements, such as that prepared in regard to the New York program, was underlined numerous times. The necessity for research bearing upon adequate selection criteria for New Careers tasks came in for less attention than usual at such gatherings, presumably because of the extraordinary difficulty of isolating the relevant variables to be tested.

FURTHER THOUGHTS ON SELECTION ISSUES[1]

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Selection as a management tool

In situations where selection criteria are used, for example, in industry and education where objective measures of selection have been applied, success has not been noteworthy. The usual measures--intelligence, aptitude, employer references, grades, etc.--contribute little to whatever it is that makes a person successful in a particular situation. Of course, by setting cutting scores at a high enough level, more individuals will be selected who perform well; but at the same time an increasingly large number will be eliminated who, if given the opportunity, would succeed. In a correctional system, we are interested in all individuals who can succeed given the opportunity. In other words, we should not eliminate anyone who has the slightest chance for success.

A further point is worth mentioning. The use of objective criteria of the kinds already mentioned are generally used to solve management's problems rather than the problems of the worker, student, client, or patient. If a corporation can reduce its employee turnover by as little as three per cent, sufficient savings may result to make a difference in the year-end profit and loss statement. Therefore, the use of a test is justified if it will accomplish that goal. In other words, by selecting those who are most likely to remain on the job, management reduces its personnel costs. However, in eliminating applicants on the basis of a test in order to achieve reduced turnover, the management will eliminate a large number of applicants who would not quit if given employment.

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[1] This discussion, based primarily on the work of one study group, is included here because it raises some additional issues of importance to the selection area.

Such is the imprecision of an actuarial approach in psychology where test results are applicable only to groups and predict little or nothing about the future behavior of the individual. The same applies to the college which has more applicants than places for students in its freshman class. If the college eliminates some applicants on the basis of lower test scores or lower high school grades, it will also eliminate a certain number of applicants who would succeed if admitted. Colleges which have a low drop-out rate or failure rate have less adminis trative headaches. Therefore it is natural to devise ways to eliminate poor risks even though they may lose some who are good risks. The point is, again, these methods are generally useful to management but are not necessarily useful to individuals and in some instances may lead to unjust decisions about individuals.

Selection and empirical study

The selection criteria more commonly used in corrections facilities eliminate individuals as poor risks on the basis of the number of previous arrests, history of drug use, history of homosexuality, diagnosis of psychological disorder, and the like. The relevance of such criteria for selection can actually only be determined by study. Some of these criteria, singularly or in combination, may have predictive significiance in one situation but not in others. This means we must have empirical study on a continuous basis to really make such criteria useful. There is another danger when we apply these criteria without empirical testing of their relevance: We may categorize offenders as beyond help when in fact they may not be. We should keep in mind that what seem obvious as good criteria often turn out to be nothing more than the biases of professional people, and their biases are often nothing more than the typical biases of the middle class. There is no substitute for empirical study.

Selection through self study

Selection techniques in and of themselves have little value. On the other hand, given a clear awareness of the goals to be achieved, selection methods used in a sophisticated fashion may contribute to training. What do we mean by sophisticated basis? First, selection must be offender-oriented, not management-oriented. Second, selection must be within context, that is, it should be relevant to a specific program or set of behavior expectations. Third, it must be empirically based and modified on the basis of continuous empirical study.

Within the training program, the "self-study laboratory" can serve as the operational mechanism which will bring the above three requirements into functional unity. Through it a sophisticated selection program may be realized. The self-study approach may be organized in different ways depending on the goals of the specific programs. Generally, self-study means that those to be trained participate in the planning and decision-making process, continuously examining their own role and the extent to which they fail or succeed in achieving self-selected or mutually selected ends, examining and making explicit the reasons for success or failure, participating with others in the self-examination and program examination process, and similar procedures, all carried out on a group interaction basis.

How may selection be related to self-study? One of the new careerists presented an illustration from his experience in a training program. Selection of an offender to participate in the program was based on interviews with applicants, observation of role-playing sessions, and peer group ratings. A number of offenders were selected and were brought together in phase one of the program-orientation. During this phase further screening occurred. Some applicants self-selected themselves out of the program; others were judged as unsuitable and were asked to leave. Of particular interest is the fact that some participants observed themselves in interaction with other trainees and decided not to continue.

This opens the possibility that selection in or out should always be self-selection and that it can be done as the program progreses. Given the unreliability of predictions which are made by people about people, self-selection in and out of training programs may be the most fruitful procedure to follow. It is recognized that self-selection into a program may be based on a variety of motives including a wish to avoid routine prison work, etc. But what counts is the capacity of the individual to become a participant in a program which involves commital to self-change and to new uses of one's self as a correctional resource-a helper of other who are confined or have been confined. As the training process unfolds some offenders will undoubtedly find that the hard work of program development carried out within intensive group interaction, including self-study, is not their "dish of tea". They will ask to be released from the program. Others who obviously are not developing a sense of commital can be assisted to leave by the group itself. In the long run, it is felt that fewer selection errors will be made when it is approached in the above way, compared to an approach which requires pre-selection by authorities. This is probably correct, given our present state of knowledge regarding objectives prediction criteria and their related measuring techniques or instruments. Most important, the self-selection approach gives each person who wishes to try an opportunity to try-self-selection is therefore offender-centered.

Selection and release strategies

There is the problem of developing alternative release strategies and tactics which will optimize the change for individual success. Concretely, some offenders may do better if they are involved in a training program a year prior to release. Others may do better if they are placed in a training program upon release. Still others may do better if they have a one-year parole experience outside of confinement, then enter a training program. There are advantages and disadvantages for each strategy, the relevance of different release strategies geared to different individuals also raises a selection issue. Which individuals have what change of post-confinement success when one or another release strategy is applied to them? This is an important area for future demonstration and research.

Selection and success

Finally, have we learned anything from the results of new careers training programs which informs the selection issue? We don't have much data in this area. Persons who have succeeded on the outside after training are probably not representative of the general population of the correctional institution. However, we don't know how this group differs from the correctional population. They probably do not differ significantly in specific aptitudes, intelligence, psychiatric or psychological diagnoses, seriousness of previous criminal record, age, early environment, or other similar indices. On the other hand, there may be difference in the extent to which the successes have the capacity to participate meaningfully in group interaction situations and in their capacity for commital to a positive orientation toward other people, or commital to a cause. These factors do distinguish the behavior of the successes and the great majority of those who have become new careerists have been successful.

There remains the issue of how many or how few offenders possess this capacity. We can only determine this by random acceptance of self-selected offenders into such programs. Too, for those who resist self-selection, there may be ways which will encourage this group eventually to become self-selected participants. We may find that under the right conditions almost all men--including offenders--have the capacity to commit themselves to the development of others and themselves. We are learning now how to bring out this capacity--how to make it a central characteristic of the individual's behavior, and the touchstone of the habilitative process. This initial results are good, even extraordinary. How far we can go may be limited only by the resources which society is willing to make available to the effort.

TRAINING ISSUES

CHAIRMAN: Edmond A. Lester

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TRAINING ISSUES IN IMPLEMENTING THE USE OF THE OFFENDER AS A CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER RESOURCE

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The use of the offender in corrections

If penal institutions can be used as training laboratories, then offenders and ex-offenders, providing they undergo proper training, can be developed to supplement manpower shortages. At present, many correctional institutions, without use of formal training programs, often tap inmate resources to assist in daily operations. These inmate auxiliary personnel hold positions ranging from assistants to administrative staff to landscape helpers. Correctional officials in most instances admit that operational procedures, excluding those which concern critical matters of custody, would not be possible without benefit of inmate workers.

Offenders are also being used to supplement manpower shortages in other ways. For example, at a juvenile institution in California 16 and 17 year old wards of the State from other institutions have functioned as assistants to group supervisors who work with young 12 to 15 year old wards. Older wards assist by helping to plan and conduct recreational activities, participating in group discussions, and tutoring slow academic learners. Adult offenders in the California Medical Facility at Vacaville, California, assist professional researchers in operating a Research Service Center. The Center, under contract, serves various agencies and organizations in the community by designing and operating evaluation projects. Some of these offenders who work in the Center, when paroled, continue to work as free personnel.

Another example of ex-offender auxilary manpower utilization is work being done by graduates of the New Careers Development Project.1 These ex-offenders, who are called Program Development Assistants, after having undergone intensive training while confinees, when paroled assist professionals engaged in work in the human service fields. The role of the Program Development Assistants includes such functions as providing technical and consulting services during initial stages of program planning, conducting small research-demonstration programs, and developing models of training.

The need for training

Past as well as current demonstrations suggest rather pointedly that the offender population can be used quite advantagously in attacking the problem of manpower shortage. The payoff, however, in developing offenders as auxiliary personnel, is contingent upon the degree to which they are properly trained to do a job. A properly designed training program has many dimensions, all of which are geared to meet the particular need of the trainee. Examples of such dimensions include those of skill content, instructing staff, and principles upon which instructing techniques are based.

The average trainee experiences various academic difficulties while involved in a learning process. Offender-trainees, in addition to experiencing those difficulties which are germane to average trainees, have other "hang-ups" that impede learning. Factors which contribute to these unique "hang-ups" include those associated with the offender's perception of his immediate environment, both the inmate system and the administrative and custodial system. Other contributing factors include his feelings about himself, his goals, aspirations, abilities, biases, and his strengths and weaknesses. These factors as well as

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[1] J. Douglas Grant. "The Offender As Participant, Not Recipient, In The Correctional Process," Paper presented at "Recent Developments in Criminology and Corrections, "Lectures sponsored by the Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, Feb. 1966.

others raise serious issues which must be addressed in implementing the use of offenders and ex-offenders as a correctional manpower resource. The remainder of this paper outlines some specific issues and possible strategies for dealing with them.

Learning process

Issue: Motivation. With the exception of a few so called "squares," one question which is asked by offenders is "how can I beat the system." Consequently, many participate in a variety of programs for the sole purpose of obtaining parole. Inherent in such a game is the activity of projecting the right image while expending the least amount of effort. Unfortunately, trainers spend much time and energy during initial stages of training in establishing trust and attempting to assist the trainee in becoming genuinely committed to the role he has professed to undertake.

Strategy. Instilling motivation, for the most part, is not done by merely pointing the trainee toward the desired direction. It is much more effective to assist the trainee in discovering for himself the purposefulness and the payoff in extending maximum effort to develop himself. Encouraging the trainee to participate fully in the planning and decision-making processes of the training program is one way of generating motivation and commitment. In this way the goals, designs, and procedures of the program are viewed by the trainee as his own, as opposed to those passed down from authority figures.

There is nothing like a success to enhance the motivation to succeed again. In the early stages of the program tasks should be phased to allow the trainee to develop a feeling of competence.

Issue: Varied learning styles. Appropriate methods of learning for some persons can be quite inappropriate for others. Consequently, training programs which do not provide opportunities for trainees to apply methods through which they best learn are not optimally effective.

Strategy. Providing an array of different learning opportunities gives the trainee the advantage of employing methods of learning which are most suited to his individual style. Example of such an array include "learning by performing actual tasks," "informal discussions," "reading and report writing," "game activities," and "teaching others." As a result of being exposed to these learning methods, the trainee has an additional advantage of discovering new methods of facilitating his development.

Issue: Non-academic background. Theoretical lectures and abstract concepts have very little meaning to the trainee whose learning background is non-academic.2 As a result, educating processes which are limited to many lectures and much reading has little effectiveness for the trainee who did not experience success in conventional educational systems.

Strategy. If properly motivated, and if an array of resources are available, the trainee through using his individual learning style can develop skills. Resources may include tutors in special areas; perhaps other trainees who have graduated from the program could assist new trainees. Not only would the new trainee have the benefit of learning from someone much like himself, but the trainee who tutors would have the opportunity to reinforce his learning by teaching others.

Issue: Relevancy of curriculum activities. Unlike some conventional learning institutions, specially designed training programs usually contain essential content. Yet for some trainees, skill content is perceived as unrelated to task performance. Consequently, little effort is exerted for learning purposes by trainees who feel they are being exposed to irrelevant activities.

Strategy. Assisting the trainee to discover for himself the skills which are necessary for effectiveness is the first step in dealing with the issue of irrelevant content. In this way trainees can have the opportunity to select skills they personally perceive

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[2] Anatole Shaffer and Harry Specht. Training the poor for new careers, monograph #105, Contra Costa Council of Community Services, Walnut Creek, Calif., March 1966.

as significant. Another method of emphasizing the relevancy of learning content is to tie into on-going projects in the community. The trainee then has a difficult time convincing himself that the activity has no real purpose. This is done by providing the trainee, in addition to other training content, with an opportunity to work on problems which are actually community service efforts. This same feeling of purposefulness is generated when persons from the community who work in social agencies and organizations visit the training program and assist trainees who work on community projects.

Issue: Specific gimmicks vs. General principles. Often times the trainee in his zest to learn attempts to accumulate a "bag of gimmicks" for working with specific kinds of problems. It seems that dealing with problems with set methods is less troublesome and ambiguous, and the methods can be easily committed to memory. Training programs, however, can not be designed to impart gimmicks to the trainee for every conceivable problem he might encounter while performing his duties.

Strategy. Assisting the trainee to learn a set of general principles which can be applied to problem solving is one method of coping with the "specific gimmick" issue. Trainers can point out the advantages of applying the scientific method to problem solving. The systematic process of problem stating, innovating, evaluating, and revising, can be applied to any problem.

Issue: Expectations. Some trainees feel that staff does not expect them to assume much responsibility, so they act accordingly. Research in other fields has substantiated that this phenomenon is rather usual--people tend to behave, within limits, in ways they feel significant others expect them to. This phenomenon can trigger a process of a much more serious nature. For example, when staff notices the trainee's apparent inability to assume responsibility, they might begin to assign him less critical tasks. This reinforces the trainee's expectations and he begins to assume even less responsibility. It seems that this system is supported by plural ignorance and can amplify attitudes and behavior to a point where both trainer and trainee are absolutely convinced that the other is not for him.

Strategy. If staff begin to give cues that they expect the trainee to assume greater and greater amounts of responsibility, the polarity of this system can be reversed at almost any time. The trainee should respond as before; however, now the system is being controlled by the trainer and is amplifying in a positive direction. This process of controlled behavior amplification is not merely limited to the issue of responsibility; it can be applied to any behavior. By providing appropriate cues at the right times, trainees will believe that staff expect miracles out of them. However, the trainee should understand that he is expected to participate in the process, learn the material, meet certain standards--the higher the better--and behave appropriately.

If behavior or achievement standards are not met, the trainee should be expected to analyze the situation and develop a rationale and strategy for avoiding similar situations in the future, in effect, if the trainee knows that he is expected to reach his goals, or accept the reasons why he cannot do so, the chances that he will reach his goals are greatly enhanced.

Effective behavior

Issue: *Getting along with people*. A trainee dominates the discussion in the group--a trainee criticizes almost every request or suggestion made by staff--a supervisor will not accept any suggestions, or criticism of his way of doing things.

On one side of the coin is 'skill development;' the other side contains "personal development.' Generally the trainee will admit the need to grow in skill areas. Admitting the necessity to change personality characteristics is a more painstaking statement. In fact, much time and energy is used in coping with personal idiosyncracies in the midst of curriculum activities.

The reasons for problems in working relationships or for the need to play games are complex and varied. These issues have one thing in common, however, they get in the way. Not only do they disrupt the group or organizational process, but they hinder the individual's ability to negotiate the opportunity system.

Strategy. An atmosphere should be created where trainees and staff both can learn more about themselves, and people in general. Critical incidents experienced by group members could be used as content for study. After conflicts emerge they should be fed-in at a subsequent group discussion designed for handling interpersonal and intrapersonal concerns. First the incident or problem should be identified in terms of specific behavior and feelings--then a rationale should be developed, e.g., what kinds of things could have been going on to cause this particular situation to occur--which of these seem most plausible--how can similar situations affect functions on the job--what strategies might be effective for coping with the problems--and why should they work.

At first this process can be painful for some, but if the purpose and method are clearly defined the group should develop cohesiveness, sensitivity to each other's problems and feelings, and the ability to handle their own behavior.

In addition to these discussions, guided group sensitivity sessions, courses in human relations, and exercises in effective listening can all be used to develop the trainee's ability to act effectively.

Use of the scientific method can be applied in gaining personal insight and developing better strategies for coping with personal problems. For example, when a specific problem has been identified to be hindering a trainee's effectiveness he would first state the problem as clearly and concisely as possible in terms of observables. Based on his past experience, hunches, or ideas from others, the trainee would then develop his rationale for the problem. The next step would be to consider strategies for coping with the problem, and to select appropriate ones for implementation. The problem, its rationale and the trainee's reason for believing the strategy will work are recorded on a standard form along with the expected outcome and its rationale. The form can be posted on the wall for group sharing or kept by the trainee. At a given time later, the trainee monitors the operation. For example, first of all, did he follow his strategy--if not, why?--if so, did it have the expected result?--if not, he must consider each part of the problem again. Did he state the problem correctly? Was the rationale for the problem accurate? Were the reasons for the strategy sensible? If there is a discrepancy between the expected and observed outcome, one or more of these areas needs re-evaluating. Once the trainee has committed himself to developing in areas he considers necessary, feedback from others as to how they view his progress is essential, be it positive, negative, or no change.

Group process

Issue: Different frames of reference and communications. Expressions of anxiety about not knowing what is expected--not having a clear idea of the program goals, objectives, and principles--lack of coordination of activities, such as last minute feed-in of conflicting commitments or strategies, are the kinds of communication issues which will rise within the group. Many times various participants will listen to the same dialogue and go away from the table with different concepts of what has been said. Deadlines and the pressure to produce will result in crash efforts by different teams and usually wind up uncoordinated chaos and--crash. Interpersonal or inter-team conflicts will cause communications to be blocked.

Training programs are fabricated environments designed to facilitate learning. To predict what will happen when professional trainer and nonprofessional trainee from two different worlds enter into the learning environment is difficult because the stage is set for many occurrences. However, there is one prediction which can be made. Namely, that as a result of the two diverse factions approaching the decision-making process from different viewpoints, issues will be encountered which will tend to disperse the group in unaligned subparts.

There will be problems of communication between trainer and trainee, and between trainee and trainee with which to cope. Trainers will try to guide trainees according to the learning principles upon which the training program is designed. Occasionally in moments of uncertainty and discomfort these same trainers will communicate feelings based not upon learning principles, but rather upon assumptions and hunches from accumulated life experiences. The trainee, feeling uncomfortable about his role and effectiveness in the training program, or the degree to which his manipulating efforts are being perceived by others, will react defiantly when he does not understand the exact position of staff persons. This occurrence is especially observed when the trainee interprets the actions and concepts of staff in light of his own accumulated life experiences.

Growing out of the communication problem is an issue of mistrust. Typical questions which revolve around this issue are "can I trust staff"--and "will my ideas be accepted by staff." The trainee will want to know to what extent can he expose his true feelings, beliefs, and attitudes to staff. He also will want to know if staff will support him against officers and administrators in the institution, as well as the reasons staff does not use their influence and knowledge of the system to ramrod special requests through appropriate channels. Staff personnel will want to know to what extent is the trainee attempting to be manipulative. They will also want to know if the trainee will continue to play the "learning game" in the absence of supervisors.

Strategy. Relating to the trainee on a person-to-person level is the first step toward bridging the communication gap and establishing trust. This kind of relationship should be established and maintained throughout training. Informal one-to-one and group discussions, as well as sensitivity sessions provide excellent opportunities for getting to know and understand others.

The objective of training however, is not to develop a group of "nice understanding guys," but rather to train competent auxiliary workers. Understanding and trusting are necessary prerequisites to getting the job done, but are not the job in and of themselves. Spending much time and energy in the process of establishing communication and gaining trust leaves little time for learning purposes. It follows then that those persons who, over a period of time, cannot work out their problems should be eliminated from the program. This holds true for both the trainer and the trainee.

Fear of being extricated from the training program also comes into play around the issue of trust, in that the trainee will not express what he really thinks for fear of getting the boot. Nevertheless, if staff has effectively communicated to the trainee that his security in the program is contingent upon performance which is constructive and not destructive, freedom of expression should be optimized. [3]

During the initial stage of the program staff and trainees should sit down together and either develop or discuss the objectives, principles, and methods of the program until everyone feels comfortable with their own and others' ideas of where they are going, and how they plan to get there. When disagreements occur the group should meet and work out their differences, or identify critical differences, analyze the problems, and develop a plan of action.

As much as possible objectives and principles should be made visible to all participants for immediate reference. In addition, wall diagrams of administrative power structures, design models, quality control and outcome measures, procedural check lists, will aid in effectively projecting the big picture and how each trainee, department, and phase fits in it. When changes or new strategies are planned, everyone should be advised. An effective way to insure communication is by allowing trainees, along with staff, to participate in program evaluation and development. In addition to reducing confusion, this process increases the access to a variety of ideas, and can serve as an in-service training activity.

Issue: Tension. Uneasiness in the group, increased pressures, uncertainty, and the need to make good are some of the reasons for anxiety in the group. Usually tension will appear in the form of a series of symptoms, such as petty gripes about the institution, program, and staff. Increased incidence of interpersonal conflicts, or difficulty in discussing issues related to the source of tension are other symptoms of anxiety in the group.

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[3] Harold L. Cohen and Henry Phipps. "Educational Therapy," Paper presented for the Third Conference on Research in Psychotherapy, sponsored by the American Psychological Association, Chicago, June 1966.

Strategy: When these symptoms emerge they should be focussed on and discussed in a group setting by starting with a specific incident that has occurred. Efforts should be made to develop a rationale for the cause of the incident. As the group gets closer to the cause, others will join in and express similar anxieties. When the source ot tension has been identified, the group can develop strategies to resolve it, or at least become aware of the situation and try not to let it interfere with production.

Organizational Process

Issue: Negotiating the complex system. Institution staff feel threatened by the idea of convicts working with professionals--department functionaries suspect trainees will be used as spies for the higher echeleon--outside people are resented by institution staff because they require special consideration and upset normal operating procedures--administrative staff indicate skepticism concerning the use of ex-offenders as paraprofessionals in the correctional process, a subject they have received credentials in after years of study. These issues may arise in varying degrees depending upon the history and orientation of the institution.

Most correctional institutions are made up of many departments with different types of functions, some of which include custody, administration, medical, education, and maintenance. Each of these departments become small bureaucracies with all the formal and informal power structures, games, and rigid procedures which characterize most bureaucracies.

In addition to the staff components, the inmate population represents a sub-system with informal power and games which must be reckoned with at times. Communication and confidentiality issues arise immediately in training programs which require trainees to contact other inmates while conducting surveys, interviews, and study-groups.

If the trainee is viewed as a "snitch" or "bootlicker" by the general population, his relationship can be greatly impaired. Being perceived as undignified, and agitated by the general population can cause the trainee to experience role conflicting anxieties to the extent he has trouble getting involved with subject content, or pulls completely out of the program to save face in the wider world of events.

Strategy: These issues can be approached through effective communication. The first move in implementing a program which has implications for other departments should be to develop a step-by-step strategy. An appropriate first step is to determine who the key people are, and how the program fits in with their needs and aspirations. From this, potential allies and dissidents can be identified.

One triple-edged method of spreading the work between institutional and training personnel, as well as providing general orientation to the trainees, is to invite key power and policy people to sit down with the group and orient them to the specific aims of the training program.

Often allies can be won by asking key people to participate in program development and contribute their ideas to the process. If institutional staff is to be reassigned to implement the training program, all necessary personnel, including potential dissidents, key administrators, and interested others should be invited to participate in early issue and strategy discussions. They should also be regularly informed of progress thereafter.

The issue of communication remains critical throughout the operation of the program. After the operation is in full swing, new plans should be discussed and cleared with all appropriate administrators and functionaries before implementing them. Staff who have been by-passed on policy issues often have considerable informal power in the system and can create impossible blocks if they are not kept up to date on new developments or changed plans. Professional protocol should be observed at all times.

If the training program's goals and objectives are effectively communicated and if privileged information has been kept confidential, there is a good chance that the trainee will get reinforcement from the institution staff and the general population which will contribute toward his overall development.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON TRAINING ISSUES

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Some observations

There must be more content to training than technical skills, if the skills are to be used.

The ingenious innovations of yesterday can become the stale rituals of today, and should be replaced by new innovations.

There are times when pre-training rather than selection must provide suitable candidates for training.

Whereas therapy is not the function of a trainer, human relations skills are, and the two commodities are hard to distinguish in practice.

Training must continue beyond the formal training program.

A flexible program salvages the largest number of candidates, although not all those who start can be expected to finish, under even the best conditions.

These were some of the points made by conference panelists in their discussion of training issues. If one had to summarize these and other observations, the most general statement one could make is that in a New Careers setting, training has a way of becoming tied to many other concerns. A few illustrations might help to make this point clear.

"Therapy" and training

The issue of "therapy" was directly assaulted elsewhere (see discussion of "adjustment issues") but it emerged indirectly in relation to training, because of the feeling that New Careerists must be taught to get along with others--at least, in their jobs. At first glance, it seemed plausible to distinguish between "people jobs" and "thing jobs," with the understanding that the latter could evolve from a skill-centered educational program. But a concrete illustration of an ostensible "thing job" (The-Case-of-the-Disgruntled-Computer-Technician-who-Finally-Retired-to-a-Gas-Pump) quickly showed the weakness of this distinction. First, New Careers have a way of ocurring in New Human Settings, and the transition from the slum to the cocktail party is not usually bridged without help. Second, things (such as machines) have a way of being associated with people (such as man-machine systems), and this trend may be expected to accelerate. Third, there is the obvious fact that prison inmates cannot be viewed as models of successful human relations unless they are habilitated, and this process (to put the matter conservatively) cannot be tested in prison. In other words, our trainees are "suspect" in the sphere of human adjustment, and there is no reason to assume that technical training would be more effective than fresh air in converting anti-social dispositions into social ones.

To put the issue more directly, we cannot abrogate corrections or therapy or social education or rehabilitation, and assume that our sole function is to produce competence. Competence has a way of becoming wasted with reconfinement. Social change agents must--as a first step--experience change themselves and become capable of it themselves.

All of this is not to say, of course, that some constructive personal change and social transmutation does not occur as a side-product of any training process. Our disgruntled computer technician, for example, did remain unconfined. Uncontrolled side products, however, can proceed in any direction. Even where they become constructive, there is an obvious need to (1) keep track of them through research, and perhaps (2) build into subsequent training those program features that maximize constructive change. When the latter is done, we have created a therapeutic milieu or a social relations training program, and the issue of "therapy or no therapy" becomes academic.

Screening in and out

Selection and final disposition can be tied to training in a variety of ways. NCDP trainees, for instance, strike a Southern new careers training administrator as verbal geniuses compared to his semi-literate clients. And yet, both programs do function and produce graduates. Obviously, (1) ingenuity must be exercised to design a strategy tailor-made for the available manpower, and (2) candidates must be selected (within given limits) in line with training objectives.

The two types of relationships may become clearer if we consider two facts: (1) In the NCDP, trainees were drawn from the intellectually top quartile of the California inmate population, and these men--after graduation--are used to train other people. (2) In Alabama, the inmates being trained are quasi-illiterates, but they are presented with role models ("college corpsmen") to inspire them to advance themselves academically. In the first example, selection partly subserves the objective of the training program; in the second, ingenious methods are used to compensate for a mismatch between training objectives and available qualifications.

The same type of inter-connectedness and flexibility must characterize the screening-out process. Who is to be adjudged a failure, and what must be done with him? On the one hand, a program cannot continue to carry trainees who would not benefit from it; on the other hand, one should be able to provide some training for everybody. A reasonable compromise would seem to be the availability of several kinds of training, with freedom to transfer or to change training tactics.

Motivation and commitment

New Careers training must produce candidates who are "sold" on the process, not only because this increases their staying-power, but also because the novelty of the program converts each graduate himself into a "salesman" (of an unsolicited product). This indoctrination job must be accomplished despite the fact that the initial motivation of the trainee may range from the desire for a soft job to the hope of an early parole date.

Our type of situation differs at least in degree (if not in kind) from the standard problem posed for the educator, and it requires considerable attention to strategies for seducing involvement through active participation.

One risk to be considered here is the possibility of inducing over-involvement. Thus, (1) the trainee may become unrealistic in his expectations or self-assessment because he places excessive faith in his training; or (2) he may come to view every detail of his belated upbringing as sacred, and thus reduce his efficacy. An illustration of this danger is an incident involving a New Careerist on the panel who tried to make a case for flexible training by listing as absolutely necessary every training device used in his own program.

To summarize this summary, training is an inextricable component of a process that includes the selection of candidates, the attitudes and motives of the trainees, the social philosophy of the program administrator, and the destiny of the graduates in society at large.

PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT ISSUES

CHAIRMAN:	Delmas Hicks
PANELISTS:	Sam Alley Melvin Davis
SUMMARIZER:	Allen Williams

PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT ISSUES IN IMPLEMENTING THE USE OF THE OFFENDER AS A CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER RESOURCE

James H. Cosby

Neighborhood Conservation Project
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Public image

There are very few men that enter prison with the sure knowledge of having a job when they are released. The employment situation for the offender presents a problem because of the stigma attached to him when he comes out of prison. Most employers feel they cannot place trust and confidence in the offender or the ex-offender. The public has formed a mental image of the offender and ex-offender just as it has formed stereotypes of other types or classes of people. The offender and ex-offender are considered to be desperate men who are completely untrustworthy.

In order to enhance the possibilities of using offenders and ex-offenders as a correctional manpower resource, public ignorance, misconceptions, and prejudices must be eliminated. Responsible citizens, civic and fraternal groups, university groups, etc., should be frequently encouraged to visit institutions in order to get on-the-spot facts about offender populations. Newspaper media should be encouraged to provide a broader coverage of worthwhile prison activities. Re-educating the community and its citizens must be considered as a prelude to implementation of such an employer-employee relationship. The institutions, the correctional process, and its products don't presently present a good public image.

In addition to public image, corrections, as a potential employer of offenders and ex-offenders, must overcome its prejudices. To combat these prejudices there are many factors involved that have to be considered: (1) What are the employer's personal attitudes and feelings?; (2) Have past experiences soured him on employing offenders and ex-offenders?; (3) Have these experiences made him bitter toward the offender as capable of becoming a good employee? Other factors, such as age, number of offenses, nature of offenses, degree of skills, physical condition, the offender's sincerity and ability to demonstrate that sincerity must be considered too.

In considering implementation of the use of offenders and ex-offenders, Corrections must be willing to give him an opportunity to achieve job development and self-adjustment to living in the free community as a responsible citizen.

There are five different manners by which job openings occur: (1) through discharge of an employee; (2) through promotion or transfer of an employee to another position; (3) through resignation of a worker; (4) through illness, accident, or death; or (5) through expansion of business and consequent addition of new jobs. Four of these situations involve the new employee in filling an old position. The new applicant will be competing against the former job holder. As a result, there must be equal opportunity for the offender or ex-offender as an applicant. Does a felony conviction prevent on-the-job advancement? Does the offender or ex-offender as an employee get automatically blamed and condemned because of some criminal activity of others? Does he have an opportunity to start in a position for which he is qualified, or must he start wherever his stereotype will best fit into the organization? These are some of the problems that Corrections must consider in order to prevent the offender or ex-offender from being fired before he is hired.

Job problems

What about problems that the offender or ex-offender brings with him as an applicant for a job with corrections?

Most people experienced in the field of Corrections, as well as the offender, will agree that the first sixty days after release from prison are the most difficult.

The offender is released with but a few dollars, a few clothes, and transportation to his destination. He will have insufficient funds to carry him through until he receives his first paycheck. Some offenders are married and have homes and families to which they can return, but many are divorced and homeless. Upon release, the offender begins his battle to gain confidence and trust of the employer and the community. His major problem is immediate availability of sufficient income. Like other human beings, he doesn't want charity. The small loans available from parole or other agencies do not meet the need. Advances in salary by the employer in reality just prolong the establishment of financial stability. Many offenders immediately turn to crime as a source of immediate income. What then is a possible solution to this problem?

Job development

The development of jobs prior to release with the work furlough program as the vehicle for applying skills to those jobs could serve as a solution to money problems at the time of release.

An example of what the work furlough program can do for the offender in terms of money at time of release is as follows: A similar program, known as the "Work Release Program" was introduced in North Carolina prison in 1961. As of October 31, 1962, 1160 inmates had participated in this program earning $617,041 of which they paid $230,976 to the Prison Department for maintenance and transportation, sent $203,825 to their families, paid $23,292 in jail fees, spent $76,187 on personal expenses, and had $82,760 saved or issued to them at time of release.[1] I know several inmates who participated in this program and at time of release had accumulated as much as $300 each for release money. Not only were they paying income and social security taxes, but contributing in every way to the support of themselves and their familes, thus giving them a sense of belonging rather than one of rejection.

Corrections can enhance its work furlough program by being a prime employer of offenders. This would be another selling point to other employers. The program would serve as a job development tool plus a sounding board for the offender's continued employment with corrections upon release from prison. A demonstration of abilities, skills, and work habits would provide the proof for success in the outside employment situation. Certainly, the offender would be financially able to sustain himself until the first pay-check came.

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[1] Statement dated November 30, 1962, from George W. Randall, Director, Prison Department, State of North Carolina.

In advance of actually hiring offenders as employees of Corrections, skill listings or skill banks could be established and made available for the personnel department. Not only would Corrections have an unlimited amount of available skills, but outside employers would be in an almost desirous state to obtain some of these skills. This approach relates available jobs to existing skills instead of available skills to existing jobs. This would greatly strengthen the chances of the offender becoming hired more quickly by outside employers. It would also give much support to the work furlough program.

Job development provides jobs and incomes which in turn creates another problem for the offender--the problem of money management.

Money management

This problem is one that respects no certain individuals, but seems to cause the offenders more frustration and problems upon release. It is quite possible that the problem caused his incarceration and, it's for sure, the present correctional process does nothing to assist him in solving the problem. How does the offender manage his money? Example after example could be cited of those offenders and ex-offenders who jump off the deep end almost immediately upon release from prison. The need for clothes, lodging, automobiles, dates, etc., is urgent to the offender. He is usually spending all of his cash plus going into debt for many items, all of which soon get him into financial difficulty. This financial difficulty will in turn most likely reflect on his employer and employment.

There are several possible solutions to this problem, but there are no definite assurances that any of them will work effectively. One, the work furlough program could involve willingness to attend money management counseling classes as a part of the program's selection criteria. The program, by virtue of operation alone, teaches thrift in that excess earnings by the offender can be converted to interest-earning savings accounts for U. S. Savings Bonds.

The savings aspect teaches the importance of building a "nest egg" for the future. How many offenders could avoid financial disaster and return to prison if that "nest egg" were available in emergency situations? Second, there are public counselors available for money management counseling that could be given as a mandatory pre-release condition. At least some of the information would perhaps be instilled in the minds of some offenders. Third, the parole agency could work closely with free public counseling services available on money management problems. Release of the offender would find parole staff referring the offender to the service as a post-release condition of parole. Again, no assurance of success is guaranteed, but maybe it's at least worth the effort.

Along with income and money management problems comes the social adjustment problem which completes a cycle of problems for the offender.

Social adjustment

It has long been determined that man is a social animal. He tends to evaluate himself from his own perception of how others see him. This affords him with strong motivations as a result of his relationships to other persons. The social adjustment for the offender is constantly plagued with many problems that in the course of time may affect his performance on the job and even possible loss of the job.

Upon release from prison, the offender has many expectations, many of which never materialize. He may be counting on financial support from relatives and friends; he may be forced to live in a situation not conducive to parole success; he may run into prison acquaintances that tend to create influence in the direction he takes in life; he may occasionally receive police harassment. All of these problems cause anxieties and frustrations that he may or may not be able to cope with. If he is single and living alone, lonliness becomes the problem. If married with a family, community acceptance may be the problem. These situations tend to lower the possibility of success upon re-entering society.

Many of these problems can be solved if the offender has self-determination and learns to self-evaluate his life as each day passes. Support could be greatly increased on the part of the parole agency by placing more emphasis on community services and how to get the offender involved in community social and recreational programs. The offender usually keeps a planned leisure-time program within the institution. Why then couldn't he do the same on the outside with more support from paroles? Again, the prejudices of people are involved, but with demonstration of offender success, many of these prejudices could be eliminated.

Corrections, as a potential employer of the offender and ex-offender, can accomplish several goals along with its efforts to use such people as a resource to solve its manpower problems of the future. With the implementation of work furlough programs that utilize existing skills, with new and up-dated vocational programs to develop new skills and with a stronger emphasis on development of community services programs, it can provide employment opportunities to qualified workers, enhance the public image of the offender, and add to its present prestige by providing a better service to the clients it serves.

As a result, the offender will have supportive strength to make for better desires to achieve success in the free community.

PERSONAL ADJUSTMENTS OF THE FORMER OFFENDER

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The problems of the released offender

Learning of his impending release usually brings many pleasant and hopeful anticipations to the criminal offender. All this can be soberingly dispelled when he steps into the reality of today's community setting. What he regarded for months, and in some cases years, as almost limitless "freedom," can very quickly dissolve into despair, uncertainty, and futility. Personal adjustments for any offender are numerous when the prison system releases its physical possession of him; but, for the majority of released prisoners, the task is too insurmountable so that they again find themselves incarcerated. Those who do make a somewhat successful re-entry into society must go through a whole series of re-learning, fitting in, and experimentation processes. Release to the large urban centers of our country, which alter drastically during his absence, brings anxiety, fear, and intense loneliness to the individual.

The doors to many employment opportunities have been closed to the offender upon his conviction. Unfortunately, his financial obligations carry over and add increased pressure when he is finally freed. Agencies which are charged with handling the offender upon his return to the community fall way short of adequately meeting the challenge. The agent is far too often only occupied with a static list of "don'ts" for the person to adhere to. This time-consuming waste only adds to the already tense situation the parolee is laboring under. No wonder we ask ourselves the question whether persons do succeed in spite of our correctional institutions and not necessarily because they exist.

As a former offender, who spent two and one-half years in the prison setting, plus another two and one-half years under parole supervision of California, North Carolina, Washington, D.C., and Kentucky, I speak with some insight into the question of why parole violators are more numerous throughout the country than parole successes. I was supervised by agents who impressed me as sincerely interested in their work and aiding the re-adjustment process of offenders. I also had contact with agents who were throwbacks to the day when the released criminal was viewed as "no good and unwanted." If the offender can wind his way through this myriad of inconsistencies, then perhaps adjustment can be attained.

Financial adjustment

This area hits the offender hardest upon release. After a period of months in an institution that fosters total dependency, he is shoved into a community with an inadequate amount of money to sustain him; so must forthrightly cope with how he will exist. Existing laws in most states have slammed the door of opportunity on many jobs for this individual. Unless he is among the few who have accessible employment, the person finds himself still at the mercy of others. If he has a wife and minor children, coupled with existing debts, then he finds himself in dire straits when the doors or gates of the prison open for his departure. Prevalent attitudes force the offender to seek employment in low-paying and low-status positions. It should not be surprising that so many of them select the path of least resistance--which is return to prison as violators.

To illustrate--my release from prison occurred in November, 1963. I was paroled to the densely-populated city of Los Angeles, California, with no job and no place to live. The parole agent secured me a residence in a home where other parolees resided. It was owned by a patronizing couple who "took the parolee for everything he had while professing to be interested in helping him." The man secured me a job in the area of Los Angeles which borders Watts. I did menial jobs at a foundry where I received a starting wage of 15 cents per hour less than men who had not been in prison. I learned that when I moved out of the depressing residential environment that my job would also cease.

Had I not been a participant in a bold treatment program at the California Institution for Men at Chino, and made some binding commitments to nondelinquency and meaningful living, I have no illusions about the fact that I would have returned to the prison setting as a violator. I observed several men in the self-same exploitive living arrangement give up and return to the institution. I had an opportunity to take a long, hard look at why the failure rate among releases are so high and why they choose to return to the protectiveness of institutions. If the person cannot get over the first hurdle of financial and employment adjustment, then it is doubtful that he will be able to proceed along a path with non-delinquent allegiances.

Social adjustment

Being accepted is a powerful force behind the actions of any person. Whether it be imaginary or not, feelings of social ostracism are quite common for the ex-offender. He is sure that there are times when the word "convict" is emblazoned across his forehead for all to see and shun. Many months of living in a totally male situation raises all sorts of questions as to how he will re-adjust to a heterogenous community. He has existed in an environment where stool-pigeons, informers, and hypocrites were considered "good prisoners." Returning to value systems where people are individuals, not numbers on a prison count board, elevates a host of emotional experiences within him.

Adjusting socially can only be accomplished as the offender winds his way back slowly into the stream of community life. He must feel out the limits for himself, regardless of how many threatening "don'ts" have been stressed by the agent. The unnaturally structured surroundings of prisons must be put into proper perspective. They certainly do not reflect the normal aspects of day-to-day living situations.

Getting through the initial 90 days following his release is most crucial to the ex-offender. I see that his chances of success increase following this period. But, for a long time, he will continue to feel the effects of living in a goldfish bowl. Unless we plan to continue building giant complexes to house thousands of social outcasts, and problems the community does not feel it can deal with, we must look very long and hard at the adjustment problems confronting parolees from our institutions. Immediately following their release they will commence to start buying the idea that they can live free of antisocial and criminal actions and achieve something worthwhile; or else determine it just isn't worth the effort and price it entails. The human waste of manpower, clustered behind the prison walls and fences, should challenge us to make more meaningful inroads into solution of the repeating offenders.

PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT ISSUES IN IMPLEMENTING THE USE OF THE OFFENDER AS A CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER RESOURCE

Delmas Hicks

New Careers Development Project

This paper concerns itself with (1) functions that an offender and ex-offender can perform within the correctional system; (2) personal adjustment issues which such manpower causes; and (3) possible strategies for coping with these problems.

Utilization of offender manpower in the correctional system

There is, at present, sufficient statistical data available to support the theory that the offender can and has made important contributions to the correctional system.

He has, and is being used in data processing, research, institutional maintenance work, and recreation. He has structured and supervised training programs; he has escalated existing programs by implementing positive changes and developments; he has trained trainees to become trainers. He has broken through barriers of inmate apathy by functioning as an indispensable liaison between administrative policy and the reality needs of the offender population; he has been instrumental in controlling and stopping riot situations. He has shown himself as capable of value change and impressive personal adjustment; he has demonstrated his capabilities of acquiring new skills and additional formalized education; and--most important of all--he has shown himself capable of total commitment to a positive cause. As encouraging as these results may be, the picture alters radically when the offender becomes an ex-offender and re-enters the correctional system as an employee to perform his previous functions. Let us explore the realities of this identity change and the problems which it creates.

The role of the employed offender

When an offender is assigned to a job, skill area, or training project, he is temporarily set apart from the general inmate population. His task involvement may reward him with extra privileges such as greater mobility and release from rigid institution time schedules, but these rewards are only liberalized extensions of institutional policy. His role as an employed offender is clearly defined: he is an inmate PLUS...but still an inmate, and regarded as such by both administrators and the inmate population.

The role of the employed ex-offender

To the Institution Administrator, the ex-offender is an individual who is now somebody else's headache. To the Institution Therapist, he is an interesting statistical case history. To the Institution Custodian, he is still more offender than ex, someone you shake down as he re-enters the institution, someone to keep an eye on. To the confined inmate, the ex-offender is almost a civilian, someone who can go and come as he pleases; someone to be envied and maybe conned into a favor.

At best, the role of the ex-offender is ill-defined, undefined, or schizophrenic. He is more than an inmate, but less than a civilian. He has to walk a constant tightrope between Administrative skepticism and inmate envy, and it is this lack of role definition which causes one of his greatest adjustment problems.

The ex-offender can be an important catalyst for initiating progressive institutional reform. He is familiar with life on both sides of the correctional fence, and is therefore equipped to walk an objective straight line. He soon discovers that this walk is mostly an obstacle course of emotional booby traps, barriers of prejudice, and hurdles of mistrust. All new ideas which he presents will be acknowledged with skepticism. For the administrator is not too anxious to share decision making with--of all people! an ex-offender. The inmate who is just interested in getting out suspects the ex-offender of having "sold out." Yet both sides are prepared to "do business" with the ex-offender despite their indifference. Since the ex-offender can be the most important cog in the wheel of institutional reform, consideration must be given to the problems that are caused upon his re-entry into the correctional setting.

The New Careers Development Project

The success or failure of the ex-offender's personal adjustment will depend largely on the kind of training he has been exposed to. If the training program was a careful balance of personal growth and task orientation, chances are favorable that the ex-offender will be able to "rise to meet the occasion" of expected problem areas.

The New Careers Development Project conducted in the California Medical Facility can be used as an illustration of how to prepare the ex-offender for his role and may provide some guidelines for program planners.

The first training phase of New Careers was one of almost utter confusion. Almost exclusively geared to personal growth and development, task orientation was considered secondary. Interpersonal and intrapersonal problems took up a major portion of the time, and it was practically a continuous sensitivity meeting.

The graduates of Phase One now became the trainers of Phase Two. Conscious of their mistakes, the trainers restructured the program and under their guidance, Phase Two became 50 percent personal growth and development and 50 percent task oriented.

The graduates of Phase Two became the trainers of Phase Three, again restructuring the program and advoiding the mistakes which had been made in Phase Two. As a result, Phase Three was a complete reversal of Phase One; it was totally task oriented, accomplishing personal growth and development through on-the-job training. Obviously, the next training phase should be even better.

Disciplinary actions. It is important to note that there was not a single disciplinary incident involving Custody in any of the training phases. Was the group unusual? Unique? Extraordinary? Not at all.

When personal or interpersonal frictions arose (and they did), these were viewed by the group as external symptoms of an undiscovered problem. Since discipline merely deals with the problem and not its cause, immediate steps were taken to get at the root of its cause. This paper does not advocate doing away with discipline but merely suggests the entrance of practical reasoning and the exit of useless disciplinary actions.

It is this kind of training which will prepare the ex-offender to cope with the kind of problem areas that he will encounter in his re-entry as an employee in the correctional system.

Commitment to a cause. Gaining the commitment of the ex-offender ranks first among the list of priorities in instilling a positive change in the ex-offender. There are techniques for gaining commitment, and in the New Careers Project, the most effective one was the expected-to-observed method. In this method, the individual, through self-realization or through having his problems pointed out by the group, chooses a commitment, outlines the strategies he will employ to achieve fulfillment, gives rationales for the strategies selected, lists obstacles which may interfere with his performance, and projects a specific time span in which all or part of his commitments will be achieved.

But commitment alone is not enough. The strength of the commitment depends on the meaningfulness of the cause. In the past and to date, therapy classes and counseling were initiated to help the offender towards a better understanding of himself. For many offenders, this new awareness was not an end, but merely a beginning. By learning to cope with their own problems, they began to understand the problems of others. They began to look about with interest and later with an urge to "help the next guy in the same boat." The committed ex-offender with a cause can be of significant value to the correctional system. He possesses an attribute which is denied to the professional and the administrator, no matter how sincere their emotions are. He has the feeling, the experience of what it feels like to be on the receiving end of the treatment. Can one truly describe what it feels like to laugh or cry if one has not experienced laughter or crying.

Problem areas

There are three distinct problem areas which must be recognized by the ex-offender as adjustment hurdles to his institutional re-entry:

1. How does the administrative staff view the ex-offender as part of the system?
2. How does the inmate population react and adjust to the ex-offender?
3. How does the ex-offender see himself fitting into the correctional system?

Assuming the ex-offender has undergone sufficient training, it becomes evident that he is prepared to cope effectively with these problem areas. Skilled in interpersonal relationships, he is able to understand and deal with "administrative" skepticism and "inmate envy." Being aware of his personal problems reduces the possibility of their interfering with his on-the-job performance. And being anxious for further growth, he is fullycommitted to a cause; the cause of him helping others. Such an ex-offender has the three necessary qualifications for positive adjustment: personal adjustment, knowledge of the job, and commitment to a cause.

Conclusion

Man learns by doing and he is inspired by some examples. The ex-offender has an important role to play and a mission to fulfill as a manpower resource in the correctional system. Both his role and mission must be geared towards a progressive change for the offender and the administrator. We solve problems by accepting their realities and initiating strategies which take into account bureaucracies which are resistant to change. The ex-offender must move with the administrator, and not against him. He must become a partner, and not a competitor. Through his demonstration of examples, he will win administrative confidence and the right to suggest further strategies.

The conference today is proof that such confidence can be won, and it is up to the ex-offender to use that confidence wisely, judiciously, and well.

Questions and issues to be considered in training

1. How many ex-offenders can be structured into the system?
2. How may ex-offenders can be drafted into the system?
3. How will they be selected?
4. What criteria will be used?
5. What sort of specialized training will they receive?
6. Who will train them?
7. Who will supervise the trainers?
8. How much sensitivity will be built into the training program?
9. How will realistic working relationships be established for staff and for trainees?
10. How much time will be set aside to evaluate individual performance of the trainees?
11. Final question: How soon will all this take place?

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT ISSUES

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In or out of the correctional institution, personal stability and continuous commitment to the task are not easily maintained. Within the institution, inmates who are involved in training are seen by others as different. They may have special privileges. They have different functions, but they are still inmates. Administrators often show a lack of trust. Some functions of inmates who are in helping roles impinge on policy questions and administrators are usually loath to allow an inmate to involve himself in policy decisions. In a word, the inmate is perceived as an inmate with consequent effects on his role and identity. If he is an ex-offender who has returned to the correctional facility as a new careerist involved in the training of inmates, he often is perceived as an inmate plus. Trust is not complete. It is likely that he will be perceived with some degree of hostility, but by whom and for what reasons varies. The degree of hostility from administrators depends on the lack of understanding of the particular administrator. Inmates may see the ex-offender as playing a new game and may try to take advantage of him for personal gain. Lower level staff personnel may feel that their own roles or even their jobs are threatened. Security personnel may treat the ex-offender as someone who is apt to be involved in illegal acts such as bringing narcotics into prison. Distrust is a factor which ex-offenders working within the correctional institution must contend with from one or another quarter and in one or another degree. It is something they must live with and not be thrown by.

When inmates are used as research aides, clerks, or in other conventional roles, the problem of distrust is minimal. It is when either the inmate or the returned ex-offender enters in the role of change agent that his problems become compounded. If he tries to relate to the institution as a structure which can change and attempts to play a role as institutional changer, he must be prepared for frustration.

Personal adjustment issues are raised by return to the community aside from adjustment as a correctional worker. Financial problems frequently produce anxiety and worry. If the offender returns to a wife and family there are emotional as well as reality problems which confront him. For others, making friends, dating, and other psycho-social needs must be met. How he is perceived by others in the community will determine in some measure his ability to adjust. A major threat or frustration within any of these contexts may result in despair or discouragement, and in some instances, recidivism.

Discussion led to a consensus that personal adjustment issues would be faced by any ex-offender, but it was a part of reality that must be coped with.

Commitment to the task appears to be the major source of strength which the ex-offender carries with him into his new work. It is commitment which sustains him. As he gains knowledge of the pitfalls, he also learns how to prevent the pitfalls from developing. Personal troubles are another matter. Most of the new careerists were confident that adjustment in their new work roles is easier than adjustment to personal difficulties.

Suggestions were made which related to meeting personal difficulties. It should be possible to use new careerists to help parolees with adjustment problems. Among the new careerists themselves, it was thought that more emphasis should be placed on developing groups specifically designed to help each other with personal problems. This would amount to self-study but with a focus on personal problems. Another suggestion was that one member of a group of new careerists might be assigned the role of being available to help others when personal difficulties became a threat to adjustment. One way he could help would be through talking and listening and bringing others in to participate in the problem-solving effort.

The question was raised as to why more use is not made of typical community resources, for example, counseling services or the psychotherapist in private practice. The new careerists in the group were not optimistic about the value of the above types of resources. Some felt professional help is generally not necessary. They also strongly felt that more can be gained by talking to each other. The question was also raised as to the role of the parole officer as a source of help. The new careerists were resistant to this idea. Some parole officers can be very helpful but others are not. They are not a reliable source of help. But they also agreed that a good systematic connection with the parole officer should probably be built in. This has not been given enough thought.

In general, the new careerists expressed enormous confidence in their capacity to make use of group interaction and their own individual members as the best and most reliable source of help. One of the professionals present suggested that some new careerists might be given specialized training in psychotherapy. He would thus be prepared to help others learn to identify signs of serious stress when it appeared among members of the group. He might also serve as a therapist--individual or group--and assume the leadership in coordinating the group's attempts to cope with personal adjustment problems.

The group thought that there might be merit in this idea. One of the new careerists pointed out that however it is done, a systematic approach to personal adjustment problems should be developed. He made the significant point that as the group became increasingly successful as new careerists, they also tended to stop talking to each other about personal problems. This might be considered as a healthy sign--a sign of group normalization. On the other hand, this process will discourage the individual from bringing up his personal problems. A conscious effort should be made to overcome it.

COMMUNITY ISSUES

CHAIRMAN:	Harry Specht
PANELISTS:	Donald McDonald Norval Morris Dean Taylor
SUMMARIZER:	Albert Elias

COMMUNITY ISSUES IN IMPLEMENTING THE USE OF THE OFFENDER AS A CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER RESOURCE

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Non-utility of the concept "community"

In assessing the "community issues" we can expect to confront in programs which use offenders and ex-offenders as a manpower resource, our greatest difficulty will be in defining the term "community." In urban industrialized society, the concept of "community" is not a helpful one because it has come to mean anything one wants it to mean; the same term is used to refer to many different things; e.g., "the professional community," "the Negro community," the "academic community," "the local community." Discussions about community are often not unlike 10 blind elephants attempting to identify a man, each clumsily trampling a different organ and loudly trumpeting his view while the object of discussion is demolished.

Matching the infinite and varied definitions of community there are as many prescriptions for dealing with community problems, such as: community development; community education; community organization; social protest; public relations; intergroup relations; social planning; city planning; and political organization. Proponents of different methods are often quite antagonistic to one another and workers in this field tend to develop strong ideological commitments to their particular methods. But if you look underneath the often thin theoretical and ideological differences which make for such definite and strong commitments, you find that different prescriptions are being served up to treat different maladies. That is, Alinsky does not organize the same type of "community" as the Council of Community Services, and neither of them is dealing with the same people as the CAP or the Chamber of Commerce. Further, not only are different types of people being organized, but they are being organized for different purposes and goals.

Different organizing methods must be used with different collectivities and the processes of organization will vary. Thus, there is not any single method of community organization by which to deal with community problems. What you eventually choose to do in the community must depend upon your perception of the problem you are facing; or to put it differently, your perception of the community you are organizing and your purpose in organizing. Thus, when we use the term "community", we refer to that rather wide ranging, diffuse, and nebulous network of interests, groups, leaders, organizations, agencies, and individuals which constitute the environment in which programs are to be mounted.

To begin, then, let us start with the notion that as we introduce new programs we will have to take account of many sets of interests and forces. To describe and discuss these forces it will be helpful to use the term "institutional interests." By the term "institution," we refer to a system of patterned relationships through which a collectivity meets their needs, e.g., the institution of corrections or our educational institutions. This does not refer to buildings, cells, and classrooms, which are only physical artifacts of institutions. Rather, our institutions are systems of socially defined and patterned roles of offender," administrator," "parole officer," "teacher," "student." and so forth. Frequently, social problems are a result of the ways in which these social roles are arranged. For example, our public school system at present is primarily responsible for the instructional aspects of educating children; other responsibilities, such as feeding, clothing, homework, and medical care are delegated to other institutions such as the family and public welfare.

Many disruptions which occur in our educational system have to do with the ways in which the community allocates rights and responsibilities to various social roles within institutions; the ways in which different actors perceive these responsibilities and the rearrangement of role responsibilities is a major concern of the kinds of programs we want to implement. For example, the question of poor achievement by youngsters from low-income groups and de facto segregation is sometimes dealt with by redefining and broadening the school's responsibility for care of the young and for citizenship education; in other instances the problem is handled by increasing the technicism of the educator.

Each of these solutions is based on different perceptions and beliefs about how social roles in education should be structured; in the first example, the solution is based on the view that the responsibility of the educator for meeting the needs of the community must be redefined, it must be broadened and extended; in the latter case the belief is that the educator's role should remain as is, but should be "beefed up" with teaching machines, programmed instruction and so forth. The point we are making is that when we conceive of the community with an institutional view, we focus on the structural aspects of social problems which the community experiences in terms which will allow us to identify community forces which will support or resist the proposed change.

Using this as a framework, in the balance of this paper we shall: (a) assess the institutional interests which have a bearing on the programs which concern us; and (b) point out some of the characteristics of these interests which are relevant for program planning, suggesting some techniques which may be helpful in implementing programs.

Before moving on to the next section, we must make a general comment about the institutions we shall discuss. These institutions--such as labor, the professions, and the communications media--are only theoretically discrete; in reality they overlap and run into one another; individuals occupy roles in more than one institution. Our interest is in assessing how these institutions compete with, complement, support, or are neutral to a specific change. And, to complicate it even more, bear in mind that we can expect that all of these responses--competition, resistance, support--are likely to occur within the same institution. For example, in our Police Aide program we found that both support and resistance emanated from different parts of the police department; the city government was both a help and a hindrance depending on the particular administrator as well as other events occurring at the time--an election, the possibility of a riot, or approval of the city budget.

Institutional interests

There are nine sets of institutional interests we shall discuss. Five are directly concerned with the kinds of programs we are planning to introduce and four are indirectly involved. The five directly involved are: (1) the indigenous community, meaning those people who have their origin in the community to be served as well as those people, offenders and ex-offenders, who are to serve; (2) labor, i.e., the organized employed; (3) professionals, i.e., those whose training entitles them to claim the benefits of the system of privilege operant in the service industries; (4) administrators, i.e., the appointed agents of the service bureaucracies; and (5) politicians, i.e., the elected officials who control the legal-political entities through which public services are given. The four institutions which are indirectly involved are: (1) business and industrial interests; (2) religious institutions; (3) voluntary associations; and (4) the communications media.

For this short paper, we can comment only briefly on the issues and problems, and the sources of support which are generated from each institutional system, and which will most likely characterize their response.

1. The indigenous community

a. The recipients. Here we are likely to encounter fears about the character of the offenders and ex-offenders. While these concerns will extend beyond the client group to other groups, the social groups and organizations which are close to recipients are likely to ask why "damaged goods", i.e., those who have been officially tabbed as deviant and criminal, are being foisted off on the low-income, minority, and deprived community.

On the positive side, there is potential support and strength to be mobilized in the client group for a program which provides jobs for the chronically unemployed, which offers an opportunity for improved communications with the service network, and which promises to reduce dependency and recidivism among offenders who are drawn beyond their proportions from the deprived community. On a local basis (later on we shall refer to the emphasis on the word "local"), we can develop political support for such programs. However, enormous resources are required to organize this support. Organizations of poor, client groups and other kinds of indigenous organizations have been effectively organized to support all types of change projects such as school desegregation and improved housing, but there has been little success in the development of this kind of support for long-range change projects.

b. The new workers. Ex-offenders not only constitute a resource for new manpower and communications links between client groups and agencies, they can also be a potent force acting in their own behalf with administrators, politicians, and community groups and organizations. Just as professional associations organize to defend and further their interests, these new workers can be organized and mobilized into a self-help organization to further their interests.

As new workers the indigenous pose great problems to the program planner, no matter what they do. If their new jobs are designed to achieve maximum advantage from the differences between them and the regular agency staff, these differences will create many problems; i.e., their different cultural styles, their closeness to and sympathy with clients, and so forth, will cause much concern in the organization. But if their jobs are built to emphasize their similarity to present staff, an equal number of problems will occur. For example, if a school aide functions as well as the professional guidance counselor, we cannot expect that this similarity will be observed without professional rancor.

2. Labor

Organized labor will be most concerned about whether the intent of these programs is to find less expensive ways to perform existing jobs. Only if it can be clearly demonstrated that these programs create new jobs without threatening the present number of jobs or present wage scales can we expect labor support. Labor opposition will be strongest during the period when jobs are being established. Labor support will be most effective at the point when new positions are established in organizing new workers and pressing for higher salaries and better employment practices. Labor tends to put its major efforts into the protection of the interests of its present members, and program planners are usually disappointed to find little interest from labor in furthering socially useful programs. It must be borne in mind, though, that labor, like other special interest groups, tends to be most concerned about perpetuating its own organizational interests.

3. Professional interests

Professionals in the social service, correctional, and educational institutions are those most likely to be affected by utilization of new personnel. These professionals will be most concerned about their own professional status and effects of changes on the quality of service. Essentially, the established system of privilege in the professions is at stake, and the systems of recruitment, training, and induction into the professions is being questioned. On the other hand, we can expect positive responses from professionals to the prospect of improving services with additional staff and with new links and communications to the client group. The new workers offer the possibility of increasing the status of some professionals by adding a new staff group to train and supervise.

Professional interests are encountered in two ways: in the agency itself and through professional associations. Professions vary in the extent to which they are influenced by either the agency or the professional association; e.g., the professional association is more likely to exercise influence over health professionals than is the case in education.

4. Administrative interests

Along with general organizational inertia and unwillingness to change routines and procedures which, over time, become sacrosanct and valued regardless of whether or not they have value to the actual client-serving purpose of the organization, there is administrative reluctance to increase budgets. Also, any new program introduced into large bureaucracies is likely to be in competition with dozens of other innovations and the program planner will be vying with many other professionals who are attempting to introduce a better scheme into one or another department of the organization. The administrator is most likely to respond favorably to those innovations which cause least disruption in the organization so that changes that increase or improve upon established procedures and techniques are more likely to win a positive reception than those which, like new careers, call for substantial changes in values, attitudes, and status.

5. Political interests

Elected officials respond most readily to programs which are likely to win votes from their constituents. Politicians will weigh and sift all of the responses of the institutional interests suggested above--the costs; "coddling" offenders vs. decreasing dependency; creating jobs; improving services--and they will decide whether they can afford to support the program. There are, of course, other important factors that determine the politician's decisions, such as his personal values, the relative importance of the issue among all the issues he confronts, and how far off the next election is. But the realistic politician knows that he must have a majority vote to return to office and ultimately, his decisions must assure him of this support.

However, there are a finite number of programs and ideas which a politician can review; there are only so many groups and organizations and advisors he can see. He is generally willing to listen and is responsive to those people who give him their ideas in a straightforward and direct fashion. Unlike administrators and professionals, politicians generally like to get your story directly from you provided you will give it to them simply and briefly, uncluttered with jargon and with a clear statement about the expected efforts and the costs. It is sometimes difficult for professionals to make this kind of direct approach to elected officials because they have been well trained to use "channels" and to work "through the structure".

There are 4 sets of institutional interest which are indirectly affected by these programs, and for lack of time we will touch on them even more briefly than the others, although they are certainly no less important.

6. Business and industrial interests

Business and industrial interests are probably the least visible and accessible to social service professionals and yet exerise more influence on decisions made in regard to programs than any other institutional system. The membership and staff of taxpayers associations and chambers of commerce wield continuous and enormous power over administrators and politicians regarding program expenditures and program content. While the same financial resources to influence are not available to program planners, they can benefit from knowing how business interests influence because there are some points at which they can exploit or counter that influence.

7. Clergy

The church continues to exercise great power over values and beliefs, both directly with their members and in organizations. The recent upsurge of interest which has developed within the church for establishing ministries in the core cities have made the clergy powerful allies of civil rights and social service, and we might expect this trend will become even more emphatic in the next decade.

8. Voluntary associations

This term encompasses a wide range of types of organizations including those concerned with civil rights (e.g., CORE), neighborhood improvement (e.g., neighborhood councils), self-help (e.g., Alcoholics Anonymous), P.T.A.'s, Boy Scouts, etc. While they do not usually command great financial resources, the voluntary, independent nature of these organizations and their (sometimes) access to large numbers of people enable them to provide strong support or opposition to programs.

9. Communications media

Radio, press, and TV are largely concerned with purveying information about the relations which exist between all of the above mentioned institutional systems. They are most interested in those aspects of relations which are strained or novel and, left to their own devices, that is what they will report about programs. Without planned use of communications media the program may not get an honest hearing before the public. Relationships with reporters should be cultivated in the same way as described for politicians.

Factors involved in selecting and working with institutional interests

With these too brief descriptions of the institutional interests which impinge on programs, I would like to make four observations about them.

1. It is not possible to deal with the entire community of interests which will affect any particular program. Therefore, the program planner must select the particular institutional interests with which he will attempt to deal.

2. The identification of interests will vary with program goals. For example, take the following three program goals: (a) changing attitudes of the low-income community toward released offenders; (b) persuading a school administrator to accept a corps of new workers as community aides; and (c) establishing a massive job creation program. Each of these goals requires work with different institutional interests and utilization of

different methods of organization; each will involve different leaders, different organizational structures, and different resources.

3. Notice that the geographic locus of each of these institutional interests varies a great deal. Selling locals on the safety of the program requires a locally based organization; persuading administrators of the feasibility of program may require work on a county or state basis; building support for a massive program may require the involvement of state or national organizations. Conversely, a community development approach (at least in the short-view) may not be helpful in selling a massive program; a national blue-ribbon committee of politically elite leaders may cut no ice with the county administrators. The importance of this observation is that the locus of the effort limits its impact on one or another institutional interest; this further increases the importance of the selection made by program planners.

4. Concepts like "power structure" and "decision-makers" have to be broken down in the same way as the concept of "community". Let me discuss this point somewhat further.

   In the last decade there has been increasing interest in how one works with the "power structure" of a community. However, research in this area has advanced far beyond Floyd Hunter's notion of a monolithic power structure which makes all important decisions for a community. Hunter, in his use of a reputational approach to identify community influentials, sensitized us to the idea that decision making powers were differentially distributed in a community and that socioeconomic status position was a major determinant of the allocation of power. However, like participation, we find that different types of people hold decision making power in different areas of community life, i.e., different decisions involve different people. Also, we find that decision making power, and actual exercise of that power are not the same thing, and the process by which that power is exercised is not exactly clear to us. Finally, there are different kinds of leaders playing parts in different aspects of an issue. In one study it was found that the kind of leaders identified by the reputational method (i.e., other people say they are important), tend to be higher echelon prestigeful leaders who do indeed exercise great _in_direct leverage in deciding on community issues. Those leaders identified by a participational approach (i.e., by number of memberships in organizations) tend to be those who communicate the decisions--"to haul it through the structure" we might say. And those leaders who occupy formal positions of power (i.e., actual role incumbents), such as executives and presidents of organizations, are the implementers of the decision. This kind of research calls our attention to the idea that different leaders have different parts to play in decision making. Increased knowledge of this kind can be of help in learning who to tap for support.

Bruce P. Dohrenwend's study of the different kinds of orientations of community leaders toward mental illness is a more specific instance of this. Dohrenwend categorized 87 community leaders as to whether they were active in political-legal, economic, educational, social, recreational, or religious areas. They were asked to make judgements about the presence or absence of mental illness in cases which were described to them, and they were asked to comment on the seriousness of the illness and the kind of help which was indicated. In part, the findings were that _all_ of these leaders were more likely to recognize mental illness, and were more likely to indicate that help was needed than was true of a sample of the total population of a community which was given the same material in an earlier study. Among the leadership group, it was found that educational leaders, who are low on influence, scored high on each measure (assessing illness and indicating need for service), whereas economic leaders, who are high on influence, scored low on each measure. Findings of this kind indicate whose support might be sought on issues as well as where educational efforts may be needed if we are to attain change.

One caution to be made in discussing some ways of working with these institutional interests is that it requires as much thought and planning to prepare for the resources that are needed to work with these institutional interests as is given, say, to the supervision and training of the new workers or to administration. All too frequently the public relations, community development, and community organization functions of demonstration programs are lumped into the administrator's job.

Whatever community of interests is selected for work, it is necessary to plan to have as many areas and platforms as possible on which to deal with issues which will arise rather than waiting until the issue comes up in an unplanned way, as a crises. Just as an example of this, in the Richmond Community Development Project one requirement made of each participating agency was that the agency and the project jointly appoint an independent citizen review committee to evaluate and discuss the program. These committees held public meetings, discussed problems, issued reports and provided public speakers for other groups. Over time the committees became a strong source of citizen support for the program and in the process they resolved many of the issues which arose around the program. Other devices for doing this are community conferences and reporting to elected officials at public meetings.

The "halo effect" which often occurs at the beginning of new programs often causes program planners to neglect to set up on-going administrative devices to deal with issues and problems which occur after the initial glow of good will and cooperation has worn off. Planned periodic administrative review, periodic reports, and joint staff meetings, should be built into programs to encourage the discussion of issues and problems.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON COMMUNITY ISSUES

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The Community Issues that develop as a consequence of the use of ex-offenders as a manpower resource is perhaps one of the most crucial in this field. A consideration of them raises a number of general and specific problems that must be considered if New Careerists are to be successfully integrated into the fabric of a complex society such as ours.

It is apparent that it is possible to cope effectively and efficiently with these issues only if there is (1) an awareness of a clearly defined orientation to the concept of "community," (2) a clarification of program objectives, (3) a development of organizational models in the utilization of ex-offenders, (4) a realistic awareness of community and professional attitudes towards ex-offenders, and (5) a careful study of closely allied issues of a theoretical and practical nature.

It is not helpful to view our complex, urbanized society in terms of the concept of "community." Not only is it vaguely defined, it is used also to refer to such a wide diversity of social situations as to destroy its usefulness as an organizing concept. It is misleading, too, in that it suggests there is a unity among diverse groups in our society whose goals, strategies, and methodologies are uniform. This is a unity that simply does not exist.

A more useful concept is "institutional interest" which refers to a systematic arrangement of a series of related social roles. This approach to the community highlights the social structural aspects of social problems. It points up the glaring differences between programs whose goals and prescriptions are also different. Moreover, it suggests that there are a variety of points of intervention in dealing with social problems. Also, it is relevant for program planning and for clearly identifying the forces that resist and support proposed changes in the community. One example is the fact that traditionally decision making has been viewed as the perogative of a monolithic power structure in the community. The reality is, however, that different types of people hold decision making power in different areas of community life.

In this regard, it is important to note that, not only are decision makers accepting of the development of new careers for ex-offenders, but the "spirit of the community" is also one of acceptance. As Morris pointed out, New Careers programs conform to the rhetoric of social change in the community. Not only do they have "sex appeal," there is also little reason to believe that community attitudes will implede efforts in this direction. However, in order to insure the success of a New Careers program there are several important problems and strategies that have to be considered.

A critical problem and one that rarely gets the serious attention it deserves, is the need for thoughtful planning for crises in advance. This is important because crises are going to happen. In fact, it is necessary that the rhetoric of planning be presented to the New Careers programs.

Another problem of considerable importance is the interests of the professionals in relation to the use of ex-offenders. At the outset, it is useful to avoid "phony" explanations of the role of New Careerists and their use in community programs. The attitude of professionals is important if they are to gain a clear understanding of who New Careerists are, what useful roles they can play in organization, and what will be their relationships to the ex-offenders who are now "participants not recipients." The fact of the matter is, for example, that we should be frank in admitting that New Careerists in an organization have a lower status than the professionals. However, it is important to be aware of the fact that professionals do not constitute a single, cohesive, organized group--they are as diverse as the New Careerists themselves, in training, ideology, and performance, so that their acceptance of New Careerists will also vary.

Two closely related problems were cited by Taylor, namely, the allocation of resources for New Careers and the complex nature of the work and interest structure of the community. In our society, new social roles, such as those created by New Careers, can find their way into the system of privileges on the basis of their functional contributions to the society. The issue here is, of the relatively limited resources available in the community, how much of them can be allocated for the employment of ex-offenders and other new manpower groups? This is not a simple problem that lends itself to easy solution. The fact that decision makers such as administrators and policy makers may view New Careers as an excellent source of manpower is not critical. A more important aspect of this problem is the issue of whether it is possible to sell the idea that New Careers can play a functional role in our society in relation to human services. A corollary issue is that although agreement can be reached regarding the need to increase these services, is it possible to convince institutional interests to budget funds for these new jobs. In other words, is there an effective methodology for integrating New Careerists into the job opportunity structure of our society.

There appears to be a reluctance on the part of administrators of human services agencies to increase their budgets in order to take account of ex-offenders who are seeking New Careers. In large measure, this problem appears to be related to their anxiety about the attitudes of elected officials. For example, although it is cheaper to use alternatives to institutionalization, public officials are less hesitant about enlarging correctional institutions which are very costly. It is also true that the institutional interest structure of our society has been poorly educated in relation to the needs of potentialities of correctional products. This situation is due largely to two factors: (1) the relative failure of correctional workers to influence legislation, and (2) the lack of organized attempts to communicate with elected officials and administrators regarding the achievement and interest of correctional programs. These failures have resulted in the development of a weak, distorted image of correction as a legitimate and respectable endeavor.

It was pointed out by McDonald that this poor image is reflected in the problems which an ex-offender has to face when he works in a bureaucratic structure. From a practical point of view, it would be advantageous to "case" the field before assigning New Careerists to an agency. In order for them to gain acceptance and subsequently open doors for other New Careerists who will follow, it is wise to select the "best" risks first. Although there appear to be pressures from various segments of the community for the use of New Career graduates, it is important to be realistic in seeking and maintaining jobs for ex-offenders, particularly by securing support for them by the top level of management personnel in an organization.

There are several related issues which deserve attention also. The first one is what contribution can New Careers make to other programs. It may be that the "essence" of the training provided by New Careers is the difference between orientation by ex-offenders as opposed to orientation by professionals. The ex-offenders' contribution may be simply that they serve as catalysts in a program, by the very fact that they bring a "breath of fresh air" to it. Needless to say, at least initially, they create curiosity as well as anxiety among professional staff members.

A second problem is concerned with unanticipated difficulties that ex-offenders face in trying to cope with working in a bureaucracy. It may be necessary to incorporate techniques for doing so in training programs, although this type of knowledge may best be gained on the job. A New Careerist often experiences the problem of role ambiguity or lack of role identity. In other words, he does not know who he is in an organization nor who he is becoming. He is no longer an offender, nor is he a professional. In many respects, he is a marginal person who lacks a clear identity. This role ambiguity relates to the stance of the agency who hires him as well as the relationship of the ex-offender to the community.

The problem of evaluating New Careers programs is another issue of some importance. Although their performance is an adequate measure, the question can be raised as to the feasibility of utilizing other means for communicating the experiences gained by New Careers such as motion pictures. This medium can help also to gain support for New Careers programs. However, it seems to be true that these types of films are generally viewed by groups who already have an understanding of the problems of ex-offenders. One approach may be to work through various interest groups in the community. This approach though may involve the extension of the New Careers concept into untried areas without any guarantee of public support or of legitimation by lifting the barriers which have kept ex-offenders from hundreds of jobs not only in the private sector of our economy but also in the area of public service. Interest groups may become involved by requiring them to share the costs of operating a program by investing their own funds. This approach may represent a more realistic one in insuring the creation of full-time career jobs not in just developing "make work" jobs, by giving money to agencies for this purpose. The crucial issue here, of course, is related to the difficult problem of implementing a full employment policy in our society.

A final issue and one of greater significance is whether it is feasible to formulate a grand strategy for embedding New Careers type projects into the political, social, and economic structure of the society. This policy involves, of necessity, the problem of coordinating contending groups in the community, some of whom may be antagonized by the techniques employed by the New Careers programs.

Correctional agencies and institutional interests as well need to seize the opportunities offered by New Careers projects for ex-offenders. They may stimulate public institutions to be more responsive to the poor, especially to members of minority groups. Also, it may make it possible to provide job opportunities for ex-offenders in non-menial employment in public and private agencies. Moreover, a New Careers program may not only provide the professions with needed manpower without which they are unable to meet the growing demand for that service, but also, it may make them more responsive to the needs of ex-offenders some day, by giving them a voice in the maintenance of standards and the selection of colleagues.

AGENCY STAFF RELATIONSHIP ISSUES

CHAIRMAN:	LaMar T. Empey
PANELISTS:	K. B. Ballard, Jr. Raymond Fowler Marshall Lundsberg
SUMMARIZER:	Larry L. Dye

RULES OF THE GAME: PROBLEMS IN STAFF-OFFENDER RELATIONS

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The games analogy

The effective use of offenders as a correctional resource depends upon their being joined with staff in mutually supporting activities. It is important, therefore, to examine first, the social variables which make such activities possible and, then, to consider the problems that have been encountered in the past in attempting to put them into operation. Out of such an analysis suggestions for the future might be derived.

I should like to use as a framework for my analysis an analogy suggested by Albert Cohen.[1] Cohen noted that life is organized in terms of social games. He suggested, for example, that if we know that baseball is the game being played, then we can make sense out of the behavior of the different players only if we know the rules of the game and the positions that are a part of it. If we do not, we often see only a meaningless congeries of disconnected acts, and, at times, even attribute insanity to various players. The same might be said for a variety of other activities. If there is some social enterprise to which different individuals contribute in different ways, the participants see their contributions as hanging together and constituting an entity in its own right: "A baseball game," "a geography class," "a church service," "a shoe store," "a prison racket."

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[1] Albert K. Cohen, "Delinquency as Culturally Patterned and Group Supported Behavior," addressed to the 12th Annual Training Institute for Probation, Parole and Institutional Staff, San Francisco, October 26, 1960, mimeographed.

Each activity operates according to a set of rules. These rules specify a set of positions or roles--third baseman, teacher, minister, clerk, or con politician--and indicate what the player of each position is supposed to do in relation to the players of other positions. They also include criteria for evaluating the success of the total enterprise or the contributions of individual players.

In order to "fit in," as Cohen puts it, "you have to know the rules; you have to "have a program," so that you may know what position each man, including yourself, is playing; and you have to know how to keep score. You cannot make sense out of what is going on, either as a participant or as an observer, unless you know the rules that define this particular sort of collective enterprise."[2]

The point is that one's very self is constituted of the positions he plays in various games. Other people are able to place him and have successful relations with him only in terms of the positions he plays and the positions they play. His public reputation, his self-respect, depend upon how well he plays his position and, if he is a part of a team game, how well his team as a whole does. If, on the other hand, he is like the mythical man from Mars, and does not know the rules of the game, he cannot make much sense out of a third baseman charging towards the batter as he anticipates a bunt, a proctor prowling up and down the aisles as the students scribble in their blue books, a priest genuflecting at the altar during mass, or an inmate who takes great pains to "bonaroo" his clothing.

The games of the past

What have been the correctional games of the past? How have they either interfered with or contributed to effective relations between staff and offenders, especially as those relations have to do with the use of offenders as a correctional resource.

The answer, of course, is that the correctional games of the past have not only failed to encourage the use of offenders as a resource but have been formally opposed, in many instances, to collaboration. The traditional prison, for example, is a caste system. Inmates and authorities are divided into discrete castes. The rules which predominate in this game favor separation and accommodation, not collaboration and assimilation. Staff and offenders operate in the same ballpark but with a high fence in-between.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

The roles of captive and captor, inmate and staff have been mutually exclusive. It has been as unlikely in the prison that an inmate could become a staff member as it was unlikely in traditional India that an untouchable could become a Brahman. This is not to suggest, however, that all inmates would have it otherwise and that prison staff members and official rules remain the only obstructions. The "inmate code" is an obstruction. It is the consequence both of nonconformist patterns which inmates bring with them to prison and of the processes of mortification and dispossession which prison life itself imposes.[3]

The "inmate code" organizes behavior within the inmate caste, and since it does, it serves not only inmates but officials as well. That is, since it controls behavior within the inmate caste, it is functional, along with official prescriptions against inmate-staff fraternization, in maintaining the uneasy accommodation of prison life. So long as the caste rules of the game can avoid the precipitation of overt conflict, officials are aided in their desire to maintain effective order and control and the most criminally-oriented inmates are enabled not only to do their time with less discomfort, but to retain considerable power within the inmate caste.[4]

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[3] Erving Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions," Chaps. 1 and 2 in Donald R. Cressey, ed., The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.

It is obvious, then, that the rules of the game in the prison caste system, and to a lesser degree in other correctional organizations as well, now tend to preclude effective use of the offender as a correctional resource. Furthermore, they raise important questions regarding the extent to which adequate training for offenders in new careers, once they leave the prison, can be instituted. Such training requires rather extensive opportunity to try out new roles in research, social service, or sensitivity training--and such training departs not only from the traditional custodial and vocational programs of the prison but from traditional "treatment" programs as well. This training implies that vocational preparation or therapy take on a new guise--a guise which departs from the norms by which correctional activities have been organized for a long time.

Pressures for change

But in recognizing the current limitations of the prison, we should not make the opposite mistake of perpetuating some of the stereotyped, "shared misunderstandings" upon which the prison caste system now feeds; that is, the belief, either by offenders or staff members, that all offenders are committed more completely to crime than they actually are or that all staff members are equally committed to the belief that "once an inmate, always an inmate." We need to find chinks in the caste wall through which to insert change. One chink is stereotyping itself. It has functional qualities in the sense that it smooths interaction and denotes a kind of model behavior but, just as all people

[4] For various analyses of the prison see Richard A. Cloward, Donald R. Cressey, George H. Grosser, Richard McCleery, Lloyd E. Ohlin, and Gresham M. Sykes and Sheldon L. Messinger, Theoretical Studies in the Organization of the Prison, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960; Donald R. Cressey, ed., The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961; Gresham M. Sykes, The Society of Captives, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958, and Donald Clemmer, The Prison Community, Reissued Edition, New York: Rinehart, 1958.

in church are not equally holy, so there are vast differences among inmates or staff. For example, without even struggling with the complexities of individual differences, Irwin and Cressey have suggested that inmates can be divided roughly into three categories: those who are oriented primarily to an outside criminal subculture, those who are oriented to the prison subculture itself, and a third group who fit neither category, but, instead, are oriented to outside conventional or legitimate subcultures.[5]

The "thief" subculture. For notational purposes, Irwin and Cressey label the first group as "thieves." "Thieves" are "career" or "sophisticated" offenders whose reference groups and self-concepts are criminal. They retain values which identify them with offenders elsewhere. The role they play in prison is what many observers call the "right-guy" role. They subscribe to the notion that criminals should not betray each other to the police, should be reliable, wily but trustworthy, cool-headed and so on. According to the ideals of the "inmate code," an offender who is known as "right" or "solid" is one who can be trusted. He enjoys high status.

But while other convicts might assign "thieves" high status because they admire them, "thieves" are not interested in becoming heavily involved in the delinquent machinations and rackets of the prison. They are are above them. They deal, of course, in contraband or food when it will serve their needs but their objectives are to do their time in comfort and to get out, not to acquire prison-derived status by demonstrating their ability to manipulate the prison environment for its own sake, to run rackets, or to dominate others. The status they seek is status in the broader criminal world of which the prison is only a part. Obviously, then, a prison caste system functions very well for them since they seek to share neither roles nor obligations with staff members in some new correctional game.

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[5] John Irwin and Donald R. Cressey, "Thieves, Convicts, and the Inmate Culture," in Howard S. Becker, ed., The Other Side: Perspectives on Deviance, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, pp. 225-245.

If Irwin and Cressey are correct, thieves would be resistant to any efforts to make them a correctional manpower resource. However, some of my former inmate friends argue that this is not unqualifiedly the case since some of them were "thieves" themselves, that I should guard against stereotyping even here. Convinced that new career roles were actually possible, even "thieves" will try a change. Recurrent terms in prison are not as easily accepted by them as a necessary part of their lives as some have suggested.

The "convict" subculture. Irwin and Cressey refer to the second group as "convicts," offenders who are oriented primarily to the convict subculture of prison life.[6] The "convict" subculture, they say, flourishes in an environment of incarceration. It can be found wherever men are confined, not only in jails or prisons but in prisoner-of-war camps, concentration camps, or even mental hospitals. Total institutions of any kind breed this subculture.

The most dedicated adherents of the "convict" subculture are likely to be offenders who have long records of confinement, confinement which is likely to have begun at an early age. They have become so conditioned to institutions that membership has become a way of life with them. Consequently, members of the "convict" subculture, like "thieves," seek prison privileges. But the difference is that the "convict" seeks privileges which he believes will enhance his position in the inmate hierarchy. His status-seeking is oriented to the prison. He participates in rackets, sells information, food, and clothing. His prestige is related to his ability to manipulate his environment or to conduct a profitable business. "Convicts" who play this game are known as "shots," "politicians," "merchants," "hoods," "toughs," or "gorillas."[7]

If the prison caste system were changed and new social order instituted, the result, at least in theory, would be the radical alteration of the functionality of these convict roles. They are meaningful only in a prison caste system. Hopefully, the substitution of new roles would result in a different kind of adjustment--one which would be related in some functional way to the new order and which, in addition, possessed some new career potential. In order to fit in, the "convict" would have to play a new position on the team. Hopefully, it could be one associated with a new career.

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[6] Ibid.,pp. 229-241.

[7] Ibid., p. 234.

The legitimate subculture. Finally, Irwin and Cressey believe that there are offenders in prison who are oriented to outside "legitimate" subcultures. By definition they are committed neither to the values of "thieves" nor "convicts." They take prison pretty much as it comes and are often unprepared in knowing what to expect or how to behave in prison life. It is unlikely that they have ever been committed to a criminal subculture outside of or in the prison. The rules by which they play are those provided by the prison administration. They participate in "constructive" activities, perhaps as editors of the institutional newspaper or by running for election to the inmate council, and conform to what they think administrators expect of "good" prisoners.[8]

There are few reliable estimates as to what proportion of the total inmate population legitimately-oriented inmates comprise. Clemmer found that 40 percent of a prison sample he studies did not consider themselves a part of any group,[9] but this does not necessarily mean that all "ungrouped" men do not identify with a "thief" or "convict" subculture. Some undoubtedly do. At the same time, however, there are likely to be many legitimately-oriented inmates in this group because, as Irwin and Cressey point out, their orientation tends to isolate them from the "convict" and "thief" subcultures.[10] They are concerned primarily with the problem of achieving goals through means which are legitimate both within and outside of the prison.

The paradox for them however, is that, even though they may share many of the same rules for behavior as staff members, they can never aspire to, nor achieve, the same set of positions and rewards as staff members. In an institution supposedly designed to encourage legitimate behavior, and parenthetically, as members of an achievement-oriented society, there are virtually no rewards, social or economic, for the achievement of legitimate behavior. The limitations of a punishment philosophy could not be better illustrated. Eventual release of course, is a potential reward for this group but that comes to almost everyone and it remains to be demonstrated that a legitimately-oriented inmate achieves that release any quicker than the wise "thief" who knows how to "program" properly and to do his time without causing trouble.

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[8] Ibid., pp. 233-241.

[9] Clemmer, op. cit., pp. 116-133.

[10] Irwin and Cressey, op. cit., p. 233.

Pressures among staff subgroups

The same kind of analysis could be made of staff groups--administration, custody, and treatment--as has been made of inmate groups. It could show how differences among them either contribute to or detract from the maintenance of the present caste system. But time precludes anything but short discussion.

Enough is known about bureaucratic organizations to suggest that, unless prospective organizational changes are supported by both the policies and persons of top administration, it is unlikely that such changes will be instituted. The correctional organization will tend to play the game according to the old set of rules. But enough is also known about bureaucratic organizations to suggest that a mere expression of administrative support, and a mere change in formal policy, is not enough. Traditional routine, the possibility of conflict, the comfort of doing things as they have always been done tend to vitiate prospective changes unless they are backed up by careful planning, training which is broadly conceived to explore issues as well as techniques, extensive support in times of crisis and, above all, rewards for staff and inmates which are in support of the desire innovation.

These things are usually lacking. Somehow, it is normative to believe in our society that if a skimpy plan is presented and money made available, the desire change will come about. But it is one thing to recognize the limitations of present practices and quite another to find adequate alternatives.

The positions which staff members currently occupy, their security and the prestige which they enjoy, have been derived from the system as it currently operates. It is not hard to understand, therefore, why change is resisted, especially when the task is that of dealing with offenders whose previous records of illegitimacy not only make them suspect but from whom society expects protection. Thus, the forces which cause staff members to invest so much energy in maintaining the status quo contribute to the aforementioned tendency for correctional organizations to submit men to processes of mortification and dispossession--processes which are necessary in managing the security of a large number of captives in a small space.[11] And, in turn, these processes confirm the validity of the "inmate code." Since the code is the major basis for classifying and controlling social relations within the captive caste,[12] a prisoner's status depends upon his conformity to it. And, it is significant that, even though there are men in prison who identify with legitimate subcultures outside the prison, many of them still subscribe to such directives of the inmate code as "do your own time," "don't interfere with others," "don't lose your head."[13] There is little to be gained from interfering with other inmates even though one may disagree with them.

It is this fact which illustrates the negative aspects of the inmate code and the hopelessness of the legitimately-oriented inmate. The code is oriented more to resisting pressure from without than in uniting offenders in the realization of some shared objective requiring dedication to a common welfare, improved instrumental, interpersonal, and organizational skills. Thus, if some of the caste-like characteristics of the prison can be altered through official support for change, some of the pressures which prevent effective collaboration between offenders and staff can be removed. Offenders can be given some stake in making changes or taking a stand in favor of legitimate behavior. The basic question, of course, is how this can be accomplished. What strategies might be used?

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[11] Goffman, op. cit.

[12] Gresham M. Sykes and Sheldon Messinger, "The Inmate Social System," in Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison, Social Science Research, March, 1960, pp. 5-19.

[13] Ibid., pp. 15-19; see also Gresham M. Sykes, The Society of Captives, op. cit., pp. 79-82.

Change strategies

Such programs as Highfields,[14] the Provo Experiment,[15] perhaps Crofton House in San Diego[16] have tried to create a totally different social system in which to relate offenders and staff. They have attempted to open up relationships through group discussion and shared decision-making. Offenders and staff are encouraged not only to discuss current relationships, official practices, and delinquent machinations but to participate in the decisions which are designed to correct them. Power, if not authority, is shared. The offender is sponsored in a reformation role. But in more formal settings, and where adult felons are involved, it is difficult to go this far. Legal statuses, official policies, and the existence of such decision-making bodies as parole boards severely limit the extent to which staff and inmates can actually consider and make some decisions about many of the fundamental problems that confront them. Other strategies must be sought, therefore, which will approach staff-offender relations on other bases.

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[14] Lloyd McCorkle, Albert Elias and F. Lovell Bixby, The Highfields Story: A Unique Experiment in the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958.

[15] LaMar T. Empey and Jerome Rabow, "The Provo Experiment in Delinquency Rehabilitation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, No. 5, October, 1961, pp. 679-696.

[16] Samuel D. Mock, "Crofton House -- A Study in Group Gensis," San Diego Honor Camps, mimeographed, and "Crofton House: One Year Old," San Diego Honor Camps, mimeographed.

The genius of the New Careers Experiment[17] or the work at the Draper Correctional Center,[18] as I see them, is in their concentration upon new opportunities and exciting kinds of training: programmed instruction, research methods, social service occupations, sensitive training skills. Rather than making a frontal attack, at the outset, upon the prison caste system and the inmate culture, as Provo, Highfields (and perhaps Pine Hall at Chino) did, the attack has been indirect. And, thus, from an official standpoint, such activities are more tolerable because they do not threaten traditional concepts. New attempts to educate and provide vocational training are not so likely to be seen as radical attempts to reorganize the correctional facility or to share decision-making with inmates. From the inmate standpoint, these activities represent the opening up of legitimate opportunities within the correctional setting and, at the same time, seem to promise something better after release. Thus, staff and offenders have a chance to try out something new without having to deal immediately with all of the latent obstructions that divide them. Inmates, especially, can be challenged by the intellectual excitement of trying their hands at activities in which they have either failed previously or to which they have never had access. Their attention can be turned from efforts to beat the system to matters which may not only be rewarding within the prison but on the outside.

I do not mean to suggest that such changes can be made without conflict. Conflict is inevitable and neither staff nor inmates should expect otherwise. The question, therefore, is how conflict can be dealt with constructively. In my discussions with graduates of the New Careers program my impression has been that their studies of organizational behavior, their research endeavors, and their sensitivity training provided them with tools by which to better understand the prison environment and the conflict which sometimes surrounded the New Careers Program. This understanding gave them insights into organizational difficulties which sometimes helped them to weather the storm. Furthermore, their activities placed them in roles which have a positive component far different from that of being a patient in a therapy session or a trainee in the shoe shop.

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[17] "New Careers Development Project," California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, September 23, 1964, mimeographed.

[18] John C. Watkins, "The Concept of Convict Culture and the Draper Experiment in Dealing With It," and John M. McKee, "The Role of Programmed Instruction in the Draper Experiment," both reprinted in Identification of Institutional Subcultures and Methods of Dealing With Those as a Part of the Correctional Process, Proceedings of the 94th Annual Congress of Corrections, American Correctional Association, 1964.

Conflict can also be used in other ways as a means of changing the traditional roles of inmates and staff in the interests of using inmates as a correctional resource. In the Provo Experiment, for example, we used the work program. Our adolescent offenders worked daily in the community on a variety of tasks: the building of a flood-control canal, minor street construction, or community maintenance. But after two years of operation we wondered whether the work program was contributing to rehabilitation or only perpetuating delinquent behavior. Not only was it difficult to change the work habits and attitudes of the boys but there was continual friction between them and the adult work supervisors.

On one hand, delinquent norms and peer group pressures among the boys were against work and cooperation. On the other hand, work supervisors were threatened by the conflict and tended either to take an unbending authoritarian stance toward the boys or to be seduced by them in an attempt to gain acceptance. The first action resulted in resentment and conflict and the second in manipulations of all types. The games that both were playing were all wrong. No matter what happened boys and staff were unable to get together in sharing responsibility for making the work program better. And, what was worse, whenever staff members had to step in with punitive action in order to gain control that action simply confirmed delinquent perceptions of authority. Officialdom, they could rationalize, was always at fault and, thus, the gap between the two castes remained wide.

In an effort to change the rules of this game, we made some radical changes. Offenders instead of staff members were placed in charge of the work crews and those so chosen received twice the pay of the regular worker. The new offender-supervisors were delighted at first because of their increase in pay and status. But their delight soon turned to chagrin. As one boy put it after his first day at work: "I thought I had it made. All I'd have to do is sit around on my ___ all day and tell these guys what to do. But the SOB's won't do what I tell 'em. I quit." The switch in role was more than he had bargained for. Not only was he unable to blame staff for problems that developed, but he was more likely to be labeled as a "snitch" by his peers.

These emergent problems provided the motivation to search for a new solution and became excellent grist for the group discussion mill. The change in roles made it much easier to examine problems realistically; who the poor workers were, what kind of manipulations were taking place, what it meant to occupy a position of responsibility. Fortunately, the experiment worked out. Work production increased, difficulties decreased, and offenders had the dignity of being able to contribute to the soluction of shared staff-offender problems. But these gains could occur only after the rules were changed.

It is a mistake to assume, however, that offenders were the only ones who were confronted with new problems. After all, staff roles are the reciprocal of offender roles; they are symbiotically related--captor-captive, therapist-patient, supervisor-laborer, teacher-pupil. Thus, the implication of any such changes whether at Provo or in the New Careers Experiment is that staff, as well as offender, roles will become the target of change; if one is changed the other has to change. And this is a problem of greatest magnitude for staff members: their status, their security, their authority, their very self-conception is at issue. Therefore, we should be giving as much attention in these discussions to this problem as to the resistances of offenders to any changes in role.

In the Provo example I have just cited, the change in roles meant that some staff members were no longer needed as work supervisors. They lost their jobs. Furthermore, once the changes were made we encountered difficulties with people in the community with whom the work crews had to relate. It was difficult, for example, for city work foremen to accept the notion that the boys in the work crews could become supervisors. They were not used to relating to "kids" about whose mode of dress, manner of speaking, and legal age they were concerned. They found it difficult to accept the change.

I can easily understand, furthermore, how correctional administrators on a higher level--the ones who have to be concerned about the political and social implications of having offenders work in the open community without the immediate presence and supervision of a staff member--could easily block the step we took. There were a great many risks involved and we had no way of guaranteeing that we would be successful. Thus, it seems clear that if one seeks to open up new careers for offenders, inside or outside of a correctional setting, he should be as concerned with training staff members as with training offenders. No less than offenders, they need some assurance that a change in their roles holds some promise. At the very least they deserve to know what is going on.

One fundamental criticism that can be levied against innovators, however, and the funding sources that support them, is their failure to make these kinds of provisions for organizational change. Two things are needed: First, staff members need education--a better knowledge of organizational structure, social games, sensitivity training, the current inadequacies of social service and research roles. Second, the search for solutions requires continual attention. Shock troops, firefighters, are needed to deal with problems on a daily basis. A mechanism must be set up and nourished, therefore, which will encourage differences to come into the open. Only after they are made explicit is it possible to work out solutions. If they fester too long then differences become so solidified that they are never resolved. Like the inmate subculture, separate, collective solutions evolve and remain underground.

The problems of relating former offenders to staff members in community programs are not unlike those just described for the correctional institution itself. Quite apart from any presocial inclinations the offender may have, existing social games make his integration difficult. First, of course, is the fact that he is an offender. His status automatically places him in a difficult situation--he may be unable to take a civil service position, to obtain certain kinds of bonding insurance, to be accepted in some social circles. Second, he usually does not have the academic credentials for a social service career which the professions, themselves, have established. These are matters, then, which require that any new careers program work as a community as well as an institutional change agent.

Finally, the offender, himself, often finds it difficult to change the social games that he has been used to playing in the community. He feels uncomfortable in new social games and is often predisposed to return to the deviant rules and players that he knows best. At times, staff people with whom he is working are unwilling to accept him in their informal social relations. At other times, he refuses their invitations; he is overly defensive. His sensitivity training, if he has had it, is inadequate and he is unable to read the friendly overtures that are extended to him.

In two cases with which I am familiar, former offenders in research positions tried to play conflicting games--to carry out their jobs during the day but to resort to drugs and questionable activities at night. They could not keep up the pace and when they were confronted by friends who wished to help them *they were too wedded to old patterns to accept* the confrontation for what it was--a desire to help. They denied their problems and eventually lost not only their jobs but their freedom. My conclusion at that time was that we had failed these people in two ways: (1) failed to make the rules of our game clear from the outset so that there could be no question about expectations; and (2) failed to raise our doubts about their behavior early in the game. We waited too long; they had gone too far.

This is a very touchy area because one does not ordinarily question the off-duty behavior of his professional associates. Nevertheless, if we are to pioneer in this difficult area both former offenders and staff must assume extra burdens. We must operate, at least to some degree, according to the rules by which a New Careers program operates in prison; namely, rely upon candor, openness and trust as a method of dealing with emergent problems. Both staff and former offenders will have to ask more of their relationship than is ordinarily the case.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON AGENCY STAFF RELATIONSHIP ISSUES

Larry L. Dye

New Careers Development Project

Introduction

The format for this session proceeded in three distinct phases:

1. Presentation by Dr. LaMar Empey of the paper "Rules of the Game: Problems in Staff-Offender Relations."
2. Small study group activity to discuss any issues that were raised during the presentation.
3. Feedin from study group summarizers pertaining to the discussion topic(s) in small groups. This section also allowed for general discussion from the floor.

The large number of relevant social variables, which always remain unrecorded, are reflected in the discussion. This paper will address itself to: (1) the highlights of the presentation; (2) the feedin from the summarizers; and, (3) the general discussion of the total group.

Presentation

The basic premise of the paper "Rules of the Game: Problems in Staff-Offender Relations," was "the effective use of offenders as a correctional resource depends upon their being joined with staff in mutually supporting activities."

As a framework for analysis, Dr. Empey suggested an analogy by Albert Cohen. Cohen noted that "life is organized in terms of social games." So to join staff and offender in supporting activities, one must examine the social games and the rules of the social games which would make such activities possible.

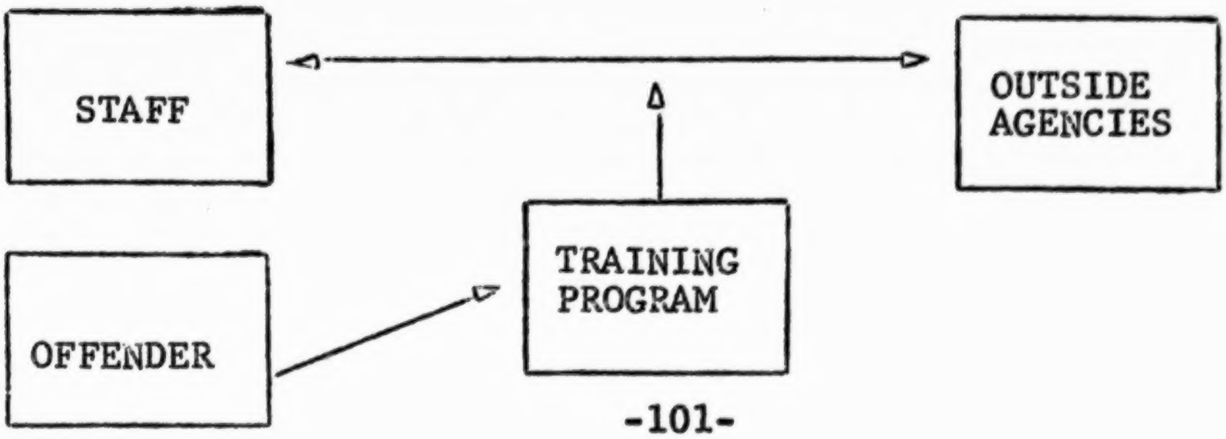
In the traditional prison system, the roles of the offender and the staff are mutually exclusive and are separated into distinct castes. "It has been as unlikely in the prison system that an inmate could become a staff member as it was unlikely in traditional India that an untouchable could become a Brahman." Webster's Dictionary defines a caste system as "a system of rigid social stratifications characterized by hereditary status, endogamy, and social barriers sanctioned by customs, law or religion."

The written and unwritten laws of the present prison system tend to preclude the offender as a correctional manpower resource; and more likely than not the idea of mutually supporting activities would be opposed by both groups. Unless the system is changed, it is unlikely that the two groups would be willing to collaborate with each other.

Concern with the organizational problems of a prison does not preclude concern with individuals and the complexities of changing offenders, but it does raise the question of priorities. It was Dr. Empey's position that until we focus on the problems inherent in correctional organizations, which inhibit change, we will be unable to work with offenders as effectively as we might. As long as we place exclusive attention upon the inmate as the source of all our difficulties, we will overlook the problems created by the organization itself. With the position clearly outlined, Dr. Empey posed the basic problem of staff-offenders in mutually supportive activities as being "DO WE TRAIN THE INMATE OR CHANGE THE SYSTEM?"

The approach of training the inmate is a somewhat traditional approach which favors separation and accomodation and helps to generate the caste system.

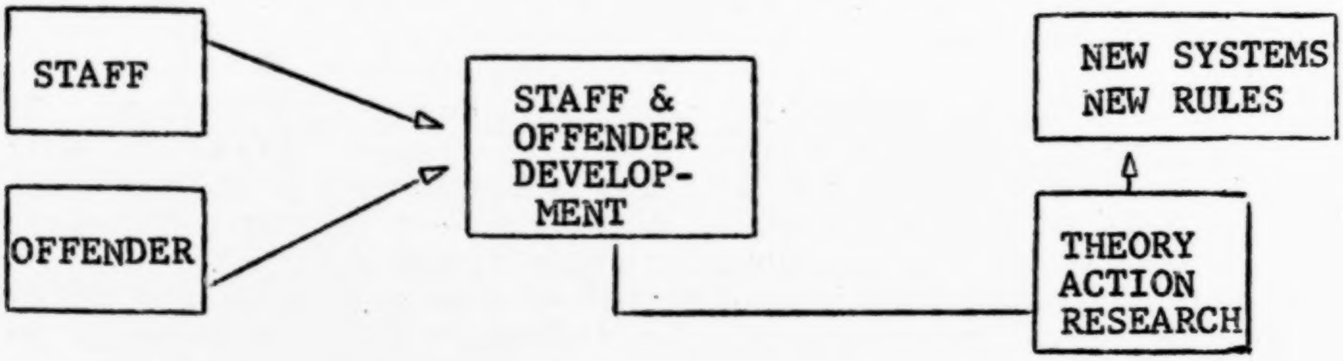
Accomodation



We have to be careful in training for new careers. This approach would allow select "cream of the crop" offenders to slip out of the traditional stereotyped position of offender into the legitimate category of staff member, while the system still maintains the traditional role of "captives and captor" in a caste system.

The other approach of "do we change the system?" is more supportive of the basic premise. If staff and offenders are to be effectively joined in mutually supporting activities, you must have a system that favors collaboration and assimilation.

Assimilation



This approach would bring together staff and offenders in mutually supportive activities of training and development. Their participation would be directed towards the study of current organizational and interpersonal problems in the interests of developing new relationships. In a combined effort they would apply new theories to practical action, gathering relevant data from their experiences. This data would be supportive of new rules and new systems with new relationships that would also maintain constant evaluation and change.

At this point, the large group broke into small study groups to discuss the issues that were raised during the presentation.

Summarizers and discussion

Feedin from the summarizers showed that the study groups tended to stay with the controversy of the two approaches with large differences of opinion on which approach would be most effective.

Individual change or train the inmates. Global system change is needed; however, it does not deal with the complexities of working with the individuals. To effectively have staff-offenders joined in supportive activities you have to deal with the individual differences of the two groups. There are clear distinctions between the offender group and the staff group and these distinctions raise personal and interpersonal problems that have to be dealt with in reality. Positions were taken that model instruments are not reality, and that for change to be worthwhile, it must come from the individual and it must be from within. Therefore, you cannot change the instruments; you must change the individuals.

Organizational change or change the system. Organizational behavior revolves around different positions or status. Personal and interpersonal problems are a part of organizational behavior. A system that is conducive to change would change the different positions and status which would change the personal and interpersonal problems of the system. Only with total system change can we eliminate the caste system prevalent within our prisons today.

Summation. From the eyes of the topic summarizer the "rules" for most conference participants have been in the "game" of "train the offender." As human beings, we tend to deal with the familiar and the comfortable. Most of us are comfortable with training or treating the inmate or with being trained or treated. The approach of training the offender and then bringing him into the system to effect change is an evolutionary approach which is in need of new rules. Most of the conference participants were in agreement that you cannot change one segment of the system without changing the others. How many times have project directors complained about administrative red tape which limits the project design. Since the approach of system change is revolutionary in nature, limited previous experience made it a difficult subject to discuss. However, it was quite evident that we are in need of relevant data that systematically approaches system change and its implications.

ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES

CHAIRMAN:	Victor Bluestein
PANELISTS:	Milton Kotler Leslie T. Wilkins
SUMMARIZER:	Aaron Schmais

ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES IN IMPLEMENTING THE USE OF THE OFFENDER AS A CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER RESOURCE

Victor Bluestein

Parole and Community Services Division
California Department of Corrections

The feasibility of employing offenders as correctional workers has been demonstrated in recent years by a number of successful innovative projects. For example, the work done at the California Medical Facility under Dr. Keating, and the use of parolees as research workers under the New Careers Development Program. This paper addresses itself to the administrative issues involved in implementing an on-going program of offender employment in a correctional agency. This is not an exhaustive account of the administrative issues facing the adoption of a program using ex-offenders as correctional workers. Instead, I shall attempt to touch on what seem to me the most pressing issues surrounding such a program. These statements are made from the point of view of a Department of Corrections, Parole Administrator. While this position in no way limits what I can say, or propose, it does indicate the perspective of the writer.

My main thesis is that an aggressive and flexible correctional administration can initiate and implement significant change in a correctional system. Any program which is advantageous to the offender is also likely to be unpopular with the general public. This issue remains one of the most difficult administrative problems surrounding the implementation of such a program. In terms of the possible unpopularity of this program, a correctional administration oriented toward experimentation and innovation must be responsive to the element of timing, that is, "what can be done now and what should be delayed?" For instance, given the nature of the political situation in California this year, and the presumed unpopularity of the use of offenders, this delicate situation suggests that the time for implementation might best be after the gubernatorial elections.

Public relations and administrative procedures are required for creating a climate of positive opinion toward the program. The objective of a positive public opinion is desirable, both within the Department and with various public groups. Particular attention in this regard should be given to law enforcement groups, who are most articulate in their resistance to such programs. Insurance must be sought against the dangers of bad publicity stemming from the offender becoming involved in anti-social behavior. A carefully administered program of selection is one such safeguard.

Internally the Department must allay staff fears of a loss of status and a reduction of professionalism due to a downward revision of the hiring criteria which permits hiring of non-professionals.

A well planned, clearly defined program with a competitive salary structure is required. Also, we should explore the range of job roles rather than use a single model approach. This new correctional worker position must insure a man's self respect. The duties of this non-professional worker must not be merely "busy work"; he must have the opportunity to learn new skills and to advance to a better position. I'm assuming that the most effective means of using ex-offenders as correctional resources is yet to be discovered. This same assumption also applies to the professional correctional worker. It should be recognized that effective experimentation with offenders as correctional workers should involve similar experimentation with the effectiveness of current professional models.

The avilability of money from other than regular budget sources, such as Office of Economic Opportunity and foundation grants has permitted a number of New Careers programs to be initiated. However, their continuance is dependent upon the agency taking over budgeting after a year or so.

In addition, strong leadership at both the policy and managerial level is required to insure continuity of both the planning and program effort.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES

Aaron Schmais

Office of Economic Opportunity

Washington, D.C.

Introduction

Sufficient differences were raised among the panelists to insure a lively and provocative interchange. The different viewpoints centered primarily around (1) role definitions and perceptions and (2) strategies for resolving or easing strains resulting from administrative issues.

Mr. Bluestein's paper served to telegraph and identify some specific issues which the panelists developed, and by relating the issue of unpopular response to that of political decision making, Mr. Bluestein set the stage for the expanded discussion which followed.

Administration: two viewpoints

1. Power and pressure: Leslie T. Wilkins

Dr. Wilkins suggested that although the Correctional Administrator, as a bureaucrat, has decision making powers, he often feels more pressured than powerful. Certainly not the least of these pressures is finances.

It would be more productive, Dr. Wilkins continued, to view the Correctional Administrator in terms of the pressures exerted upon him, instead of viewing him as a center of power, or as the enemy. He reacts to pressure in much the same way that actionists react to administrative pressure. In decision making, his perceptions and reactions to immediate pressure may be more powerful than his perceptions and reactions to the long range reality of the situation.

The Correctional Administrators' concern for New Careers only constitutes one of many spheres of interest, and if one is to win his support, one must seek to understand and empathize with him. There is a great need to provide him with more concrete information about New Careerists, so that he will be convinced of the need for new careers as a means of augmenting his existing staff.

There is also a further need to define the particular settings and optimum activities in which new careerists can be engaged; it should be spelled out why an ex-offender possesses unique qualifications to perform specific activities.

The enriched education and training of the ex-offender was viewed by Dr. Wilkins as a possible additional administrative issue: such training might be considered unfair and frivolous, and thereby result in a negative administrative response.

In conclusion, Dr. Wilkins stressed the need for planning and development for getting at these answers. He saw the Correctional Administrator as living in a somewhat perverse world, continually making hard decisions, and therefore needing appropriate material on which to base those decisions.

2. Power and politics: Milton Kotler.

Mr. Kotler viewed the Correctional Administrator as a powerful and potentially benevolent head of an institution who is not afraid of change, as such, but who is fearful of the kind of change that threatens his maintenance of power. The Administrator will be open to new ideas to the extent that these ideas enable him to retain or acquire greater power.

In Mr. Kotler's view, the Correctional Administrator is desirous of such basic support wants as: status, connections, and legitimacy. While agreeing with Dr. Wilkins' estimate of pressure, e.g., financial, Mr. Kotler went a step further and defined the Correctional Administrator as a political person who is sensitive to the possibility of cuts in funding, and who must therefore develop strategies for developing a strong political role.

Since there is presently so much upheaval and fear in the general society, Mr. Kotler suggested that this might well be an auspicious time for New Careers to move in and aid the Correctional Administrator in securing himself politically through innovations that could advance his prestige and power.

Mr. Kotler did not see the Correctional Administrator as a passive or beleagured professional. He pictured his as the head ("king") of a fairly closed society in which he often saw himself...or found it useful to see himself... as the benevolent ruler. In this definition, the Correctional Administrator can't understand why his constituency (inmates) are unsatisfied, nor does he ever view himself as the roadblock to change. However, it is only to the extent that the Correctional Administrator views himself, the institution, the inmates, and the outside world in a political context that he can accept and effectively use this self-definition.

In continuing to develop the theme of politicizing correctional administrative issues, Mr. Kotler advanced the suggestion of politically organizing the inmate population. Arguing that this is already in existence within the prisons, he conjectured on extending it to the ex-inmates and then to state and national levels. Since California alone has approximately half a million offenders and ex-offenders, this would form a large constituency that could be motivated and interested in common issues.

Rather than questioning and defining usable skills possessed by the New Careerists, Mr. Kotler was more interested in viewing them as potential leaders who are presently without a constituency. He suggested that if the New Careerists continue to define their research skills rather than develop political skills, and that if they continue to function as social change agents without viewing the problem politically, then they could easily obscure the relevant political issues and thereby advance a concept that would not only delay, but seriously impede the political organization which he saw as necessary in solving correctional problems.

Mr. Kotler seriously questioned the ability to liberalize the prisons unless one fully understood that the prison was (1) a political response and (2) a mechanism to insure social control.

Liberalizing the prisons, he argued, therefore requires that (a) one views change as a political process, (b) one increases the political awareness of the inmates, and (c) one re-enforces the Administrator in becoming more politically conscious.

As an example, Mr. Kotler suggested that amnesty ... clearly political ... might be a better solution given the present recidivism rates.

Mr. Kotler expressed surprise at the fact that Correctional Administrators had not yet begun to speak for the growing strength of their constituency (the prison population). He was also troubled by the fact that Corrections was not affiliating itself with other institutions such as universities, in order to break down their present isolation.

Mr. Kotler suggested that the New Careerists were representative of many similar groups among other prison populations. He therefore felt that, as a long range strategy, it would be more important to be concerned with developing the prison institution for these groups, rather than developing these groups for the institution.

Mr. Kotler raised the issue of inmate choice of programs as one example of political power being exerted, and he observed that an institution which allowed a variety of possibilities had already begun significantly to remake its program politically, for in such an instance, the inmate is not being imprisoned by some one elses knowledge, vogue, or imperfect state.

Finally, Mr. Kotler stated that any discussion of social change which does not recognize the inherent political implications, or that does not proceed on the basis of affording realization of self-interest for all parties concerned, will cintinue to be more rhetoric.

Summary

The differences expressed are sufficiently generalizable to fall into two particular views: (1) traditional and (2) non-traditional.

1. The traditional view sees Correctional Administration occupying a difficult middle ground; it attempts to cope with one set of pressures being exerted from above and from a strong outside, and a second set of pressures coming from below and from a somewhat weaker outside.

2. The non-traditional view focuses more on change than on accomodation, and it sees administrative issues in the larger political context, thereby defining new roles and calling for solutions more in tune with the political process.

Clearly, the answer to the question of whether or not the prison system and its constituency of inmates and ex-inmates is a special situation will determine which of the two orientations makes sense.

If one views the prison system as a viable one with general public support, etc, then considerations of political organizations will seem naive, and are likely to result in significant negative backlash.

If, on the other hand, one views the prison system in terms of its general failures (recidivism, riots, etc), then a climate for change and a recognition of potential "constituency strength" becomes appropriate.

These differences of view are likely to lead to two positions regarding the question of change: (a) Those who are concerned with the difficulty of the administrative position are more apt to want to insure success, diminish risk, and to be understanding of administrative hesitancy and lack of courage. (b) While not minimizing the inherent problems of administration, the other position prefers to see administration re-defining itself, building new constituencies, joining new coalitions and becoming the advocate for serious change.

It is around three major guidelines that both positions define themselves:

1. Wherein does the self-interest of administration exist? with obeying or leading?
2. Who is the constituency? the supervisors or the prison population?
3. Is change a viable instrument for the maintenance and advancement of administrative power?

Although the discussion did not come close to resolving these questions, there seemed little doubt that a provocative viewpoint had been raised, and although it was generally thought of as being improbable, it was refreshing and afforded a new perspective on some timely issues.

Conclusion

The total group agreed on the importance of redefining professional functions along with creating new careerist positions. There was recognition that a considerable amount of lip service had been paid to this concern as a means of easing professional anxieties and developing effective proposals.

It was further agreed that without re-defining professional positions, the New Careers movement would suffer, and continue to be no more than a tenous appendage to existing professionalism, experiencing insecurity in ever converting from soft money to hard. It was felt that, at this point, such a conversion was as important as developing new career jobs.

The total group also felt that current confusions have to be overcome, for unless the Correctional Administrator, and other Administrators, can be made to see that New Careerists aid their interests, they will never overcome their basic anxieties.

Since many, if not most, of the New Careerists are working in poverty or poverty-related programs, the total group felt that the relationship of the ex-offender to the nonprofessional movement needed examination and definition. There are some 50,000 non-professionals who face some of the very same administrative issues, and it was felt highly likely that the future of the ex-offender new careerist will be determined by what happens to the larger group.

Prison College Programs have shown that it is the School of Education, and not the Prison Administration, that is negative around curriculum, and this suggests that administrative issues do not exist at the top alone. There are many layers of resistance, and in some instances, they will come from unsuspected sources. Since New Careers must win support at many different levels, these sources must be identified, and strategies must be evolved for coping with them.

Finally, the total group considered whether the ex-offender (and the general concerns associated with him) constitute a sufficiently fertile ground upon which to organize and build a significant mass base. Although there was no agreement, there was recognition that these concerns, when seen as a continuum from the community to the prison, were more generalizable and part of ghetto life than had been previously thought. There was agreement that this indicated a need for public policy decisions on employment, and a need for the New Careerist to play the role of prevention agent.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ?

CHAIRMAN:	David Twain
PANELISTS:	Robert Allen J. Douglas Grant Richard Rogers
SUMMARIZER:	Joan Grant

SUMMARY OF FINAL WORKSHOP COMMENTS

Joan Grant

New Careers Development

The use of offenders in new correctional manpower roles remains on a demonstration basis. Successful or not, these demonstrations have had little impact upon the correctional system as a whole. If this represents a good lead--and the evidence is growing that it is--where do we move with it? How do we implement it on other than a demonstration scale?

Implementation means change in existing ways of doing things. The panelists differed in the areas to which they felt attention should be given and the ways in which changes in the correctional system could most effectively be brought about. They agreed on the need for a multiplicity of strategies and for mutual tolerance of differences.

The use of power

As was evident in the discussion of administrative issues, the theme that emerged from the Workshop was political. The emphasis was not on improvements in training or in treatment as the next step to take, nor on further research on demonstration programs, but on the development of the political power necessary to bring about the changes in the correctional system that will help it accomodate to these new kinds of manpower. There was some disagreement as to whether one worked within the present system to bring change about or exerted pressure from outside the system. It was suggested that a big potential source of leverage on the system is represented by (so far unorganized) inmate power. A coalition of black (or civil rights) power with inmate power may not be too farfetched an idea--both groups represent the underemployed "outs" for which the existing social system has less and less use. (In San Francisco recently, some civil rights demonstrators who were jailed began to organize the jail inmates.) The increased attention to the civil liberties of confined persons and of those accused of crimes suggests that this is a group to which corrections will eventually be forced to attend. At the present time it has the potential for being either a negative force or one that will help promote positive growth within the system.

The reluctant behavioral scientist

If we are serious in wanting to learn something from innovations in this field and to build change on the basis of systematic knowledge, we must deal with the general shortage of behavioral scientists, the inadequacy of methods for assessing the impact of change, and the reluctance of behavioral scientists to become involved in this field at all. One of the workshop participants predicted that if all the social psychologists in the United States were asked what they thought of what had been said at the Workshop in terms of research, 75 per cent of them would give one of two answers:

(1) I'm not interested in this kind of research; I don't think it's science, or

(2) We don't have the methodologies with which to do it.

The remaining 25 per cent would say: yes, we can move here. But this is 25 per cent of a group of professionals already in short supply. We need thus to consider ways of engaging professionals and changing their perceptions of what are appropriate areas of study.

New careers for what?

Part of the differences expressed at the Workshop and even the lack of communication among the participants stem from differing notions of who the new careerist is: what kind of a role he is to play, what identity he will achieve. Actually many different career roles have been described, with as many different objectives. Some of these veer toward social action, some toward research, some toward the helping services. It may be possible to play more than one role, but others have come to grief attempting this. We need to do some thinking through of how these different career roles relate to the different social agencies we are attempting to change.

Some cautions

However we move, we must give as much attention to our methods as to our objectives. The panelists raised several points.

We must first of all be very clear about the kinds of skills that we have to offer. We must also be very realistic about the condition of the market in which we are trying to sell. We are asking the correctional system to take on people with many negative qualifications, and this places additional responsibilities on the shoulders of the administrator. Change is difficult and will be resisted. We should be aware of the source of these resistances.

It is essential that lines of communication be kept open between personnel and administration as new programs are put into effect. Rumor and partial information take their toll, and a new program may be denied the support it would otherwise have because the administrator has been cut off from communication with it.

Bringing offenders into staff roles raises problems of integration, and integration is not achieved overnight. This will be particularly difficult in prisons, but problems of offender-free person relationships will appear in other settings as well. Implementing new programs therefore calls for careful attention to setting the proper climate with correctional staff to help them accept offenders in new roles.

A way to move

Whether the emphasis is on the application of political power, or the involvement of behavioral science, or clarifying new career roles, we need to outline some concrete steps to take around which to build these concerns.

One approach is suggested by the "prison university" recently set up by the Institute for Policy Studies, the School of Criminology at the University of California, and the California Department of

Corrections. This university-behind-walls is not intended simply to open additional educational opportunities to inmates which may provide them with increased opportunities in the outside world; it is seen as a laboratory which offers more degrees of freedom to experiment with new education models than is found in most higher education systems. The development of such models has implications not only for training inmates but for working with the large delinquent, predelinquent, and non-delinquent population outside our prisons who are not being reached by our present educational system.

The prison university also offers a way to bridge the gap between the prison and the community. Much of the unrest among college students stems from what they see as the university's lack of contact with problems in the real world, and a response to this unrest is a search for ways to extend the classroom out into the community. It would be both possible and feasible to bring free students into a prison university to work jointly with inmate students on projects meaningful to both groups.

Now, let's think beyond the idea of a "prison university" and think instead of a larger entity, a center that could combine not only education (training) but research and development functions for the correctional field, which would not only utilize offender manpower but which would serve as a way of developing new manpower for correctional needs. Such a center could have several components.

a. Training (or more broadly, educating) offenders for new roles within the correctional system (both in and outside of institutions, including delinquency prevention) would be a major function. The roles could include work in program development, rehabilitation (treatment), training, medical research, social research, and community action. The implementation of such roles has been the major concern of this Workshop.

b. Another function is suggested by the inmate-staffed research units in several states. The center could provide direct service to the correctional field for both populating accounting functions and research on correctional programs, and by using inmate manpower could do this at far less cost than is presently the case. It would also serve a training function for inmates.

c. Another research field which offers potential for both service and training is medicine. Inmates are presently used as medical research assistants and laboratory technicians, as well as research subjects. With increased national attention to both medical care and research, the center could serve as one means of training personnel for the health industry.

d. Such a center could also take on research functions of its own. By being tangential to any one correctional system, it would be free to explore areas that individual correctional systems (because of money, time, and the priorities of other activities) cannot afford to investigate. Such research could make use of offenders not only as researchers but as participant-subjects, as discussed in Hans Toch's paper in the Appendix. One example of such a study would be the problem outlined at the beginning of this Workshop: why are some offenders able to make use of new career opportunities when these are opened up while others--despite favorable personal and environmental assets--throw such opportunities away? who responds and who does not to new opportunity programs? how do we reach those who do not?

e. The center could also serve as a link among various components of the correctional system--institutions, police, delinquency prevention programs--and between the correctional system and the community by sponsoring study groups and workshops around areas of mutual concern. The problem of riots in ghetto areas is one example of a pressing community problem that no part of the correctional system is studying, even though its control functions--which have had no demonstrable effect in preventing such conditions--are called into play. Again, offenders could play a role both in conducting such study groups and workshops and as participants in them.

Since the functions of such a center offer ways to break down corrections-community barriers, thought might also be given to ways of modifying correctional structures to make maximal use of the center's potentialities. Work release programs, which have been very successful in several states, are one example of a structural change. A sheltered workshop is another. The distinction between being in or out of a given correctional system may need to be blurred. There are people who it appears can never make it for long outside the protection of an institution, and there are some who never should. Such men lead socially useless lives and are expensive to maintain. A center need not be limited to dealing with those who are likely to be successful in conventional terms; it can also provide socially useful and personally rewarding work for the "hopeless" offender.

APPENDIX

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF VIOLENCE*

Hans Toch

Psychology Department
Michigan State University

I accpted your Program Committee's invitation--or--to put it more accurately, I eagerly jumped at this opportunity--because I have somewhere along convinced myself that we--my collaborator and I--have built a more effective (or at least a more congenial) mouse trap. I could try to document this conceit by offering you an inventory of dead mice, but as you know there are less offensive vehicles for that kind of report. Instead, I propose to deal here with several more or less distinctive aspects of our work, and I shall give you the flavor of some of the impressions we have been accumulating.

But before I turn to the "social psychology of violence" I must tell you about the social psychology of our project, and I have to start with the claim that our staff is probably collectively superior to the personnel of other projects. Our top researcher, for example, is an interdisciplinary social scientist for whom I cannot find enough praise. His name is Manuel Rodriguez, and his academic background consists of an eighth grade education, a term in the U.S. Army Supply School and a short course in automobile repair.

But Rodriguez has other academic qualifications. Before the age of eighteen, he was arrested for malicious mischief and assault. Later, he was sentenced for such offenses as armed robbery, burglary, firearms possession, narcotic addiction and drunk driving.

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*Invited Address, Division 8, American Psychological Association, Prepared for Delivery September 5, 1966. The findings reported herein were obtained under the auspices of an NIMH research grant to the Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, Sacramento. J. Douglas is the project co-director.

(I might as well confess that since joining us Manuel has been arrested once again, this time for driving without a license while engaged in research.)

Rodriguez has spent fifteen of his thirty-six years behind bars, mostly in the California State Prison at San Quentin. And it was as an inmate at San Quentin that Rodriguez became interested in the subject of our research. He himself describes the beginning of his interest as follows:

> "I was assigned to the weight-lifting section of the gymnasium. Most of the more violence-prone inmates come here to blow off steam at one time or another. It is also sort of a refuge where an inmate can get away from the pressures of staff scrutiny and the yards. We try to keep violence nonexistent if possible, in this section. This was part of my job, although it was not explicit. In many cases--as a peacemaker--I had to convince both would-be combatants that they could retreat without losing face or pride.
>
> Most inmates contemplating violence will usually go to a respected member of the prison community for advice on "Shall I kill this guy or not?" I and a friend of mine were two of these persons so respected. When these guys who are straddling the fence between violence and non-violence came to us we began to actively prescribe non-violence..."

As you can see, Rodriguez started out as an informed layman, with a completely pragmatic concern with violence. Today he is a sophisticated researcher, and he is an expert on the subject.

Manuel's transmutation began in early 1965, when he became a trainee in the New Careers Development Project directed by my collaborator, J. Douglas Grant. This revolutionary program is aimed at converting standard clients of professional services (such as Manuel) into dispensers of professional services--or at least, into intermediaries between clients and professionals. Research work seemed one obvious target for this effort--for one reason, because subjects are too often unconcerned with research, and therefore fail to participate wholeheartedly in it. Inmate Rodriguez was thus put to work, during his training period in prison, on the first stage of our study. His work included research design, as well as code construction, interviewing and coding. After Manuel Rodriguez was released on parole, we were happy to be able to hire him as a staff member.

Outside, Rodriguez has acted as our principal interviewer. He has interviewed parolees with violent records and citizens who have assaulted police officers. He is not only a symphathetic and incisive interviewer, but became unusually successful in stimulating interest among potential subjects. I might add that Manuel is 5' 10" tall and weighs 175 pounds. He generally wears shirts that allow an unimpeded view of two arm-fulls of tattoos. In addition, when we began the police assaulter interviews, Manuel grew a bushy moustache to make himself look--as he puts it--more subculture". This prop undergirds an invitation to participate that starts with the words, We are not a snitch outfit", but then proceeds to a thoughful, honest exposition of our objective.

In our project, we have tried to study the social psychology of violence in two special settings. One is that of conflict between police and citizens; the other is the penal institution. In our prison studies, we operate with a resident research staff that combines sophistication, practical experience,and the ability to inspire confidence in our informants. Our group in San Quentin, for instance, consists of six men whose graduate training adds up to 83 years of confinement. Their competence to study violence in prisons is partly exemplified by the fact that five of our six researchers also qualified as subjects.

But then, I must stress that in our study we have tried to blur the line between the observer and the observed. Each of our interviewees, for example, is invited to sit down with us to conceptualize the data obtained from him. Each one is asked to help us find common denominators in the particulars obtained in the interview. Each one gets the same opportunity we do to play scientist, and becomes a minor partner in our enterprise.

I wish I had the time to illustrate for you here the extraordinary sophistication of the material we obtain from our non-professional collaborators.[1] But I must pass over this issue, and tell you something about our theoretical approach and about our data:

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[1] The written version of this address contains an appendix with samples of this material.

I like to refer to our perspective as "social psychological", not only out of loyalty to my upbringing, but also because we try to focus--probably more than other students of aggression--on the inter-personal events that lead up to violent acts. We try to find consistencies or patterns in the games people play with each other that lead one or another to physical harm. In our analysis of documents and in our interviews with several hundred contending parties, we have carefully divided the *antecedents* of violent acts into stages or steps or moves or actions, and catalogued accompanying feelings and underlying assumptions. We have then tried to group these subjective and inter-personal sequences into *types*.

Let me illustrate the method and its results with one or two brief examples. First, I should like to tell you what we mean by a *type of violence-producing personal inter-action*. Second, I shall try to introduce you to what we understand by a *pattern of violence within a person*. Lastly, I'll try to place two recurrently violent persons in opposition to each other so that we can consider the *collision* of their patterns.

Taking first the problem of typing violence-prone interactions, consider the research area I previously mentioned, the increasingly popular participation sport of assaulting your neighborhood police officer:

To arrive at an understanding of how such incidents arise, we started by content analyzing 444 police descriptions of assaults on themselves. We then interviewed as many of the assaulters as we could conveniently locate, and we extendedly conferred with their ostensible victims. I might add that our work was made easy through the full cooperation of the Oakland Police Department. I, for one, have found no evidence to confirm an anti-research stereo-type of police agencies, given a situation like ours in which there is an open interchange of concerns and speculations. I should also add that in our police interviews we have followed our procedure of approximating peer interviews by securing the services of Raymond Galvin, a professor of Police Administration, to act as our interviewer. I honestly shudder to think that *anyone* could talk more candidly than some of the officers we have interviewed in this fashion.

Our content analysis showed that police assaults tend to occur as a result of fairly standardized games between officers and citizens. In 260 out of 444 incidents, for example, orders or instructions by the officer played some kind of precipitating role. In 246 of the incidents, the violence occurred after the assaulter had expressed his contempt for the officer, and the officer had continued to press his case. In 67 of the conflict situations, the final precipitating act of the officer consisted of placing his hands on the potential assaulter, after he (the officer, that is) had concluded that verbal injunctions were ineffective. The most frequent sequence we encountered begins with an order or request by the officer, which elicits a contemptuous response from the citizen, (sometimes punctuated with picturesque language.) The sequence repeats itself and ends a variable number of steps later--in some instances after a notification of arrest, in others without it. This Basic Sequence accounts for some 40% of the incidents we examined.

Let me illustrate by reading verbatim two of the briefer police reports descriptive of the basic pattern. Identifying names have been changed, but the flavor of the original is obviously preserved. The following is the simple form of the sequence:

> While patrolling Golden Gate Park this date in plain clothes, I observed suspect loitering around and looking in an auto. As auto boosting is a constant problem in the Park, I approached suspect identified myself and asked him what he was doing around auto. He said that he was looking at it. Suspect was carrying motorcycle-type helmet and I asked him if the motorcycle parked nearby was his. He replied that it was. I then asked suspect for some identification and he stated that he would show me nothing. He then walked over to the motorcycle and removed a knapsack from it and walked away. I followed the suspect and again showed my identification: he said that he understood that I was a policeman but would refuse to talk to me. As the suspect was walking rapidly away, I attempted to block his line of departure. Suspect then pushed me aside and stated, "If you touch me, I'll hurt you." I attempted to physically restrain the suspect and we both fell to the ground. The suspect continued his threats of bodily harm and upon arising attempted to pull me to the ground.

The second example is a somewhat more complex version of the same sequence. The officer writes:

> While on routine patrol at 2:15 AM, this date, the reporting officers observed a group of young men who appeared to be under 18 years of age which would place them in violation of curfew. Officer Sunshine called to the group to stop as they were walking away from the reporting officers. The whole group stopped and turned to Officer Sunshine except suspect #1, who kept walking. Officer Sunshine again called to suspect #1 to stop and to produce his identification. Suspect #1 continued walking in an apparent attempt to avoid being stopped. It was necessary for Officer Sunshine to reach out and grasp suspect#1 by the shoulder to stop him. At this point, suspect #1 turned and grabbed Officer Sunshine's arms and attempted to push Officer Sunshine back against the building. At the same time, he shouted, "Why should I show you any I.D.?" Officer Sunshine then took the suspect into custody and attempted to take him to a nearby callbox. Instead of cooperating, the suspect struggled and kicked in his efforts to get free. Suspect #2 then approached and attempted to free suspect #1 and it was necessary for Officer Moonbeam to forceably restrain suspect #2. Suspect #1 continued to resist while he was being handcuffed and made verbal threats against officers. Sgt. Geronimo Moss and Officer F.L. Clover arrived on the scene and aided the reporting officers in subduing the suspects.

The second most frequent sequence we encountered which covers some 27% of the incidents, is one in which violence is already manifested as the officer enters the stage. In such instances, extreme delicacy is obviously required to insure that the action does not transfer to the officer. Unfortunately, only too often the requisites for a peaceful solution are not present, and an abbreviated version of our basic sequence follows. In the two illustrations I have selected for you, one contains some preliminary verbal exchange, and the other does not. Here is the first incident, which is fairly typical of a degenerating domestic dispute encompassing a police officer. The report reads:

> Reportee stated that her husband, the suspect, had arrived home shortly before and had broken

> the window next to the door, entering the premises located at 387 Peyton Place. The suspect was asked by the reporting officers what had occurred and he stated he had broken the window and did not like our presence in his apartment. When told we were requested to come up by his wife, he became very belligerent and stated that we never come through his doors without a warrant. He was advised that we were merely attempting to ascertain what had occurred in the interests of preserving the peace and in the interests of his wife's safety. She was emotionally distraught and literally shaking in what was assumed to be fear. The subject became very bellicose and ordered us from the "blank, blank house.' At this time he took a swing at Officer Octane. In the course of the next few minutes it took considerable effort to restrain his onslaught of fists and feet. Officer Octane incurred a severe laceration on the index finger of his left hand. Once handcuffed, the suspect attempted to further carry on with his violence to the point that it was necessary to handcuff his ankles together.

The second illustration is the type of incident in which violence is so much the order of the day that the officers become almost incidentally victimized:

> At approximately 4:10 AM, this date, Sgt. Searchlight and I were called by the above complainants who stated to us that the below arrested person came into the World Wide Hot Dog Stand, picked up the pushbroom and struck the Counter, causing considerable damage to said counter. The below arrested then ran into McGee's Do-Nut Shop and deliberately pushed over a large tray of do-nuts. Upon seeing reporting officers enter,he ran to the extreme rear of the premises whereupon he picked up a ladder and attempted to strike officers and he then threw a ladder at Sgt. Searchlight's head. Considerable force was necessary in properly restraining him and during which time both officers were repeatedly kicked and struck with fists. In removing him from this rear room he deliberately kicked over a large rack containing snails and do-nuts. He then kicked over a metal container with approximately ½ gallon of jelly in it. Upon taking him to the sidewalk area, he attempted to kick the plate

> glass window of the adjoining premises, and during that time both officers were kicked again. At this time Sigmund Watson insisted that this situation was not being properly handled. He demanded that we release the below arrested and interferred to the extent that it made it far more difficult to perform out lawful duties. Watson was warned to leave but refused. Both men taken to City Prison and booked.

Of course, a typology of sequences such as these does not represent an answer to the question of how violence comes about--rather, it poses the question. It provides us with the stage setting in which the game takes place and furnishes an outline of the plot. Thus equipped, we can proceed to find out how each character contributed to the proceedings. The main research objective becomes a specification of who does what to whom to cumulatively produce violence--and why he does it.

The emphasis in our study is thus not on the typology of violent incidents, but on the typical genesis of such incidents by typically violent persons. We have tried to understand and to classify persons who recurrently participate in violent incidents. Even in our police study, we have concentrated on chronically assaulted officers and on citizens with assaultive records. The aim is to find patterns among the incidents of violence in which a given person has been involved.

Such patterns are essentially of two kinds. One includes types of attitude or personal reaction. The chief source of patterning here lies in the limited range of situations that a violent person defines as justifying or as requiring force. For example, whereas one individual may feel that physical action is in order when some rule has been violated, another may tend to retaliate against what he sees as arbitrary authority, and a third may habitually use force to acquire desired commodities. A second category of violence-prone personal reaction is responsiveness to what we have called "the chorus"--that is, to other persons (real or imaginary) who exercise influence in the direction of violence.

This type of responsiveness ranges from the desire for status in a group that prizes combativeness, to participation in a mutual protection association or in a fighting team.

The second broad category of personal patterns of violence is that of violence-prone strategies, and the most dramatic of these is that of habitual clumsiness, either in handling inter-personal problems or in assessing their import. The police officer who habitually "comes on strong", for instance, falls into this group. Another kind of violence-prone strategy consists of techniques designed to bring about situations the person can define as requiring violence. The range covers strategies as a penchant for threatening or challenging others, a predilection for hostile verbal play, and the tendency to feel persecuted and to react accordingly.

But again, I feel I'm becoming somewhat abstract, and I shall therefore give you an example, consisting of two incidents involving the same individual. These incidents are drawn from one of our interviews with persons on parole who have been classified by the Parole Division as habitually assaultive. The first excerpt relates to an event that occurred in a state prison. Our subject is describing a cozy evening by the institutional fireside:

> S: Well, they got barracks there like camps and were living in the barracks at the time, and we were all jacked up on beans, and we were watching this card game.
>
> I: You were loaded on Benzedrine pills?
>
> S: Yeh, and we were watching these cats play cards, and we were standing behind this colored dude. He was one of these big iron lifters, you know. About ninety feet wide, you know, he was one of those. And he turned around and told us, "Whitey, man, don't stand behind me, punk, when I'm playing," you know. And I just looked at my partner and he looked at me, you know, and didn't say nothing, just stood there. Cause we were running the barracks anyway. We felt we did.
>
> I: Who was Whitey?
>
> S: He was my partner. I just looked at him for his reaction, and he looked at me for mine. I just

smiled and he smiled and we stood there. We felt like, you know, more or less, what I said was,"Do what you want, I'm with you." And he looked at me like you know, "You there?" You know, because he wasn't about to whip that big sucker. And he turned around again and he said, you know. "I told you not to stand behind me." And he said, you know, "Bless you, man." And the dude got up, man, so I hit him on one side and the other dude hit him, and we were both on him, man. And we beat him to a pulp. Fixed him up bad, man. And nobody jumped in, you know. Course we had about six or seven partners in the barracks and at the time there was only about four colored dudes in there. And they didn't get into it; you know how they are, man, about half of them got to have tin with them. So they didn't get in it, so we just, once we got going, we just wasted the dude. And that was that. Sent him on down to the hospital. And after that I felt like a king, man, I felt like, you know, "I'm the man." You're not going to mess with me.

What inspired our subject to resort to an act of physical agression? Among the elements making up the incident, you may have noticed the following significant ones:

(1) The prospective victim was perceived as a large black bully,

(2) Our subject felt that his substantial reputation was at stake,

(3) Our subject felt that a challenge had been issued, and

(4) Our subject viewed himself as loyally supporting a friend.

You might also have noted the initial presence of chemical stimulation, the psychological role of which is not clear. And in focusing on the final stage of the incident, it may have struck you that our subject showed unambiguous joy at the considerable damage he had inflicted, and felt good about the presumed solidification of his empire.

Now let us turn to an incident involving the same subject, several years later, in a tavern. He relates:

S: I was down here at the Tulip Room and I was drunk on wine, and I can't drink wine, man, at all. I get mean, you know, go out of my mind, forget what I'm doing. And I was with my boss's son and we'd been out drinking wine and hitting all the bars and drinking whiskey too. Pretty juiced. We're in there, you know, and it was packed, and it was with a colored dude and he was giving off one of those impressions again, you know. Typical loud-mouthed type. For some reason there, I just can't communicate with them at all. I have no patience with them. And he walked by me and poked me out of the way, walked right in front and I thought, "That's the way it goes," you know. I was mad, and we stood there for about, I guess, about ten minutes or something, and we were going to leave and he was coming back and he poked my boss's son out of the way, and was coming like he was going to do it to me, and I just fired on him and decked him. And that was it. And everybody jumped on us, you know, and I split.

I: You were drinking wine?

S: Yeh, wine's the only thing that'll do that to me. And I think what it was is he pushed me back to what was going on in the penitentiary, you know. This kind of disgusted me.

I: The guy was a bully?

S: Well, that's what he was doing, you know. Pushing people out of the way, growing a little goatee and all that, you know, and looking like something else.

I: Was he pushing other people around?

S: Yeh, he was bumping into everybody, man, you know. And he wasn't loud-talking or nothing, you know, but he--I could see it in him. And I think it flashed me back to the penitentiary which was an unpleasant thing. And this brought my anger on more and then, when I seen that he was going to bump into me, I just blew it completely and tried to smash what I seen.

I: You wanted to hurt him?

S: Yeh, I would have really wasted him, but I got jumped on.

I have selected this incident for you because in addition to illustrating our standard finding that motives are replicated, it contains an even more dramatic form of patterning--one of causal connectedness between incidents. You'll also notice that our subject showed signs of insight into his own pattern--a form of psychological activity that we promote in all our interviews. I might add that eventually my collaborator and I hope to build on this type of awareness. We expect that the active understanding,by a violent person, of his own violence can become a first step in a tailor-made program designed to help him to respond non-violently in new situations.

Before closing this description of our research, I must mention one last type of pattern with which we have been concerned--that of social intersections. This is the type of event created by the collision of two personal patterns; it is an act of violence produced when two violence-prone persons meet, and each serves as an instigator for the other. It is the type of outcome you get when you combine two persons who--in the words of one officer in the Oakland Police Department--"are programmed for each other and press each other's button."

I hope you don't misunderstand me to assert that I deny the existence of blatant aggressors and passive victims. Unlike the tango, it doesn't necessarily take two to produce violence. What I do maintain is that the actions of the prospective victim matter, and sometimes considerably so. And as I have indicated before, on many occasions the victim is an appreciably more violent person than the aggressor.

Let me briefly illustrate the sort of dialectic I have been alluding to, by excerpting from parallel descriptions of an encounter between a police officer and a young citizen. The incident starts with the officer contacting a Negro boy who is sitting on a school yard bench late at night. We begin with the boy's version:

> So he said, "What are you doing here?" I said, "I was just sitting here." So he says, "Come around here." So the setup was that there was a long fence-and I was sitting right in the middle of it-with two doors. And the way it was, we were right in the middle. So he said, "Come all the way around." And I said, "I was on my way toward home." So he said he wanted to talk to me. So I said, "Well, I haven't

> done anything wrong; talk to me right through the fence," you know. So, he says, "No. Come around here. I want to talk to you." Then he asked my name, and I said, "I haven't done anything wrong. I'll tell you my name if you tell me what I did wrong."
>
> So he goes back to the car and says, he says something about a youth or a man into the radio. Such-and-such a street what we were on. And then he comes back and he says, "Look, I don't want any trouble from you." And I said, "Look, I don't want any trouble either." So he walked to one end of the fence, to the opposite side of the fence; so I started walking in the other direction, up to the end of the bench about ten or fifteen feet. So, he walks up that way and I walk back the other way. So he says, "Listen, here, I don't want any trouble from you." I said, "I don't want any trouble either, just tell me what I did wrong and we can talk. I haven't done anything wrong."
>
> So he gets into his car and he drives up to one end of the fence. And all of a sudden I'm thinking to myself, you know, "this is a dumb cop." I says, "I'll just play around with him, he's so dumb." So he gets out of his car and he turns on his flash light and he starts running "cause I could hear him jingling. So I started running to the other end of the playground and I yelled to him, "You'll never catch me this way."
>
> So I don't think he knew the area too well. Up around there where I live there's lots of little alleys and stairways. So I ran down the hill and down another street and up this little alley....

You'll note that the policeman is perceived as arbitrary and that he mobilizes a stubborn, resentful, response in our young friend. The boy brings into play a pattern of aggressive playfulness designed to produce an evening's amusement for himself and considerable frustration to the other player. How does the officer, who is already upset, respond to this game? We must turn to the officer's version of the incident for an answer to this question. The officer tells us:

> He gets up off the bench, and he turns around, and at this point I think he's either under the influence of alcohol or dope or something, cause

> he's got a goofy, dreamy look about him, and he gives me a little cynical laugh, and backs up on his feet facing me, with the fence between us, and he says, "Come on in and get me." Well, at this point I was ready to go in and get him. There's two gates. It's a block long, and one's at the west end of the school, and the other at the east end of the school. I'd walk west, he would walk east; I'd walk east, he'd walk west, and we played this little game for about three or four minutes, and I finally walked over to my car with my one eye on him, and I grabbed the horn, and told them that I needed another unit there, I had somebody in the school yard who refused to identify himself or to come out. So I heard them dispatch a unit out there, and I turned to put the mike back, and I saw him walking fast away from me, which would be north across the school yard.
>
> So I get in the car and I blast up to the west end of the yard. I ran through the gate, he saw me and he changed his course and he ran out east, through the gate, and slammed it as he was running down the road, and he was laughing like crazy, you know. And I hear him yell something about, "You're going to die," or some stupid thing. Well, I'm out the gate, and he's gone, you know, it's very obvious to me that I'm never going to apprehend him, he was running like a deer.
>
> So, now, my vehicle is a block away, so I run back to my vehicle, get on the radio and I told them that there was a possible 50-50 loose, which is from the Welfare and Institute's code, referring to a person that is mentally unbalanced. He had yelled something, that in my opinion, was a possible threat to my life, and I think that we should get somebody up here and flush him out before he hurts somebody.

You'll note that the officer feels that he must persevere after having made his opening move. He copes with the boy's playful response by convincing himself that he is faced with a raving, dangerous, lunatic. He also concludes that his consequences in the next scene of the drama, which follows when the young man decides to return and renew the sport. This second scene is described as follows by the officer:

> It was just a second, and I was on him. And he's turned around facing me, but backing away up the hill. I'm walking at him like this, you know, talking to him because I honestly believe at this point that the guy is a nut. To coin a phrase, 50-50. But, anyway, I told him, Look, kid, now, I don't want to chase you. Come back. I estimated his age at this time at about 19 years old. He was 16. He says, "Look, man, what do you want me for? I didn't do anything. Well, I says, "Look, if I have to chase you, there's going to be a real problem. You might as well come over here. And he's still backing away, only now he's taking a few bigger steps. And I guess I'm about as close as from here to the cabinet, five or six feet. So, then I come out with, "Now, look, I don't want to shoot you." Which was the classic statement. I didn't have my revolver out, and I would never have taken it out, 'cause, naturally, a misdemeanor (refusal to identify, 647E of the Penal Code) is certainly no grounds. But it did shock him enough, so that he stopped and said, What do you mean, shoot me?" And when he stopped I grabbed him by the right arm. I got sort of a half-nelson on him, and I'm walking him back to the car, and I says, "Look, you get in the car." And then the beef starts. He comes out with, Get your hands off me, you (obscenity), I'm not getting in no police car. And the beef's on. The kid was big, and I don't mind telling you, he gave me one hell of a hassle. We were all over the street.

As you can see, the officer has parleyed himself into a state of fear such that he loses control of himself, and even offers to shoot the young boy. He then attempts to physically control the dangerous monster he has mentally created, all the while continuing to exaggerate the magnitude of the opposition. This new development, of course, presents the boy with a somewhat different type of playmate from the "Dumb Cop" whom he had originally tackled. The dawning of this discovery is traced for us in the boy's version of the return engagement:

> So I came up the stairs and soon as I got back on to the main street, where the school was, here he comes flying down this hill; he almost hits me; he stops the car; he jumps out, and I back away. He says, Now, listen here, you nut,' or something like that, and he says, "If you run

> or try to get away again, I'm going to shoot you." Well I have a fairly good knowledge of the law, and I know that you have to have done a felony or he can't shoot you. And I haven't done a felony or anything, but he looked kind of frightened. So I just stood there. And he says, "Come get into the car and we'll talk." So, I know right then and there that that was a lie, right there. First of all, he wants to talk, now he wants to get me into the car. I said, "No, I'm not going to get into the car unless you tell me what I did wrong." Then he keeps trying to ask me my name. I wasn't going to tell him my name or anything, unless I could get some understanding why he wants me.
>
> So he starts coming toward me, and I can't run cause he'll shoot me, so I just stood there, so he comes up, runs up to me, and he jumps on me. You know, he doesn't have, you know, he just overpowers me and gets me into a full-nelson. Well, right then and there I knew it was hopeless to run or try to get away, so, you know, naturally your body's going to tense up when somebody grabs you. So I told him, "Let me go. I'm going to go over to the car and let's talk." In the meantime he's really struggling with me and I'm trying to tell him to let me go, I'm willing to talk. All of a sudden he gets this attitude that I'm strong. "Strong as a horse," his exact words. He said, "He's strong as an ox (or horse)."

The tables have turned, and it is now the boy who perceives the officer as irrational. In fact, later in the interview he refers to the point of his return as an experience of discovery. He tells us:

> I was feeling pretty good right then cause I figured, "This cop, he's dumb. I haven't done anything wrong, I should give him trouble; he was giving me trouble, I should give him trouble." But, then, after he grabbed me, I says, "Oh, no. This can't be, it's all over now. We're through playing games, I have to talk to him, now. He means business."

At this juncture, both men are suffused with panic, and have become unable to transact business with each other. Whereas the boy feels ready to throw in the sponge, the officer conceives of himself as engaged in a desperate fight to the death. The lines of communication by this time are nonexistent. We turn to the officer's description of this final debacle:

> So, then I really start putting the heat on him. And he starts bucking a little bit. All you can hear out of him, "You're choking me." See, but he's starting to slow down a little bit. So I figure, well, this is it. Boy, I'm getting tired, I'm either going to have to do him in now, or forget about it. So, I gave it all I had and finally put the kid on the ground....As I recall, I had exerted so much strength, that my left arm, I couldn't even unfold my hand the muscles were so cramped up....And this is what it took to get the kid down. And he's put into the car. That was the incident.

So far, we have seen how two persons may interact to produce violence, but we have not yet shown that these persons may have reacted typically. In order to illustrate this point, consider the following incident involving the same officer, at a time when the latter is serving as custodian of a police paddy wagon. The officer in this excerpt is discussing a prisoner who had been arrested for prowling:

> He didn't give the reporting officer, the arresting officer any trouble whatsoever, completely cooperative. Quiet, hardworking man, type thing over-all. Obviously from his hands, you know, the man worked. I opened the door of the patrol car; we got to the wagon, and I says, "All right, step out of the car," I said, "Put your hands up on the back of the wagon." "What for?" "I want to search you." I haven't got anything on me," and he starts to go into the wagon. I've got one side open and I pulled him back, and I said, "You're going to be searched." Naturally, anybody that gets in my car, now, is searched. And I don't care if he has been searched fifty thousand times, you know, exaggerating a bit. If he's getting in my car, when I'm inside with him, he's going to be searched. This is a common good safety practice. That's it. He refuses to put his hands up on the back of the wagon. So I grabbed his big right paw and I slap it up on the back of the wagon, and my partner's got the other one, and we searched him. He's jerking a little bit, but it's all for the

> crowd which is about 30 strong now. You know, shucking and jiving individuals, teen-agers. I said, "All right. Get in the wagon and sit up front." He turns around and he has one step on the wagon. He steps up on it, and he says, "What?" "Get in the wagon and sit down up front," you know. If we have to stop fast and somebody's in the back, it's kind of painful, you know. He turns around and he says, "You make me get in." This is typical...Anyway, he turns around facing me up on this one step and I say, "All right, now, get in." I'm going to push him back and close the door. The man is immense, and I don't particularly want to fight him. At this point, he grabbed me by my badge and my shirt, and yanks me, and I went right over that top step and right into the wagon. We're both inside now. In fact, both my shins were skinned, in that I didn't step on the step, I went right over the top of it. And the beef's on. All I want to do is get out of that wagon...I'm like one of those rubber balls on the end of a paddle, because he's throwing me around like nothing, you know,...So, finally, I give a big yank, like this, and he comes in on top of me, and I whack my head on the lock up on the front of the wagon, and I can feel the blood trickling down my neck. So I figured, "Fellow, the hell with you." I was mad--angry, I don't think I was mad. My head was split open. I put the wood to him as much as I could.

You will note that the officer is again persevering in the face of obvious danger signals; that his inflexibility and his tendency to classify people again produce an inevitable clash; that he sees himself again as a giant-killer, and that he again resorts to extreme force in a moment of panic. To complete the parallel, consider the brief after-play which occurred several minutes later, while the wagon was under way.

> So we're going in, and he says, "White fella, someday you're going to be alone on that street, and I'm going to kill you." And I tell him, "Mr. Smith, if you ever even look like you're going to kill me, I'm going to put one right through the middle of your head." Not ashamed to admit it. Cold hard facts. Mr. Smith can break my arms off and serve them to his family for dinner if he wants to, and I won't fight him again; I'll kill him first.

In case you are curious about the boy who had assaulted this officer, I might tell you that he has been expelled from several schools, in every case for fights involving serious damage to other children. Typically, these fights started with persistent harassment of an opponent, in a cumulatively degenerating game.

What then, can we say-- by way of final summary-- about the patterning of violence? First, I have tried to suggest that in certain explosive situations (such as contacts between police officers and suspects) stereotyped inter-personal dilemmas can produce relatively homogeneous manifestations of violence. I have further suggested that persons in whom violence is replicated become successively violent in roughly equivalent ways, because their violence is a function of relatively permanent personality traits and dispositions. Lastly, I have attempted to show how variations on violent themes may emerge through the dialectic inter-action of psychological constants.

Appendices to "The Social Psychology of Violence"

Appendices A - C

Sample Summaries of Personal Patterns Extracted from Incidents by Joint Professional--Non-Professional Case Conference

Appendices D - E

Sample Inmate Interviewer Comments Relating to Inmate Interviewees

Appendices A-C

Sample Summaries of Personal Violence Patterns Extracted from Data by Joint Professional-Non-Professional Case Conference Groups

Appendix A

It looks as if the main fights or at least the most dramatic sets of sequences of fights occur with this man when he wants to amuse himself or himself and others by spontaneously attacking casual victims whom he happens to encounter. One fairly spectacular sequence of this kind consists of him pulling drivers out of cars that patronize a drive-in and assaulting them physically. And another sequence occurs as he and a friend go from one party to another on a weekend, antagonizing people. In the course of this expedition they assault gas station attendants, their host in one of the parties, and a set of guests who happen to arrive on the scene at another.

While in prison, the subject appears to be somewhat careless in baiting several people in succession in such a way that by the time he's finished, his situation looks precarious to an outsider.

The role of others in this man's involvement is not always the same. In some situations there is team work involved and he appears to enjoy a kind of camaraderie with another violent individual. And there is some team spirit in this kind of sport. In other situations he's an entertainer, acting for an audience. In still other instances he gets himself into a violence-prone situation, counting apparently with the support of people who, assessing this same situation, decide that they don't wish to become involved. And then he proceeds anyway, since he has, at this point, no real option. There also appears to be some tendency for him to gain an unjustified feeling of immunity. That is, it looks as if he does not take very careful stock of the odds in several of the situations in which he encounters violence.

Another point is that after the sequence of events begins, he won't back out, he won't change his strategy until he's either knocked out or the fight's over.

It also appears as if, in at least some of the situations with this individual, the word "strategy" isn't as applicable as the word, "game". That is, there is a kind of spirit of enjoyment and levity about the proceedings. And it is as if he doesn't take account of the fact that the victim may not share the enjoyment as much as he and his friends do. (Although in at least one instance, the enjoyment was so infectious that the one victim gets into the spirit of the game before he was flattened.) There appears to be some evidence here that at least in the majority of instances, violence for this man might be an end in itself. The clearest situation where this occurs is at a party where the guests discover that another set of guests is arriving, and our hero announces that whoever they are, he's going to lick them. And as soon as the first of the new group of guests arrives, our friend hits him in the face with a mop that he happens to have been mopping the floor with.

Appendix B

This man can be classified by his pattern as a rep-defender. Interestingly enough, this is exactly the label the man gives himself. There seems to be a very consistent pattern here, over innumerable incidents in which there's always a chorus and there's the struggle of the good guy versus the bad guy and the bad guy is always bigger, uglier, and the good guy is always, at first, the underdog. The good guy is the more polished, has better manners, respects his mother better, talks nicer to girls, probably dances better. He manages too, in spite of having innumerable physical conflicts, to be liked by friends, enemies, and the law.

He shows considerable ability, here, to time what he does in a given sequence in ways that will reinforce the role. That is, he doesn't just wildly blurt out with aggression at the first incitement or the first accusation of any kind. He doesn't retreat from an incident that would let him look like a coward, or be perceived as a coward, but he can delay making his motions. He can even stand by and watch one of his own race very badly beaten up by a large group of people from another race, and his cues are more than just that the crowd hasn't arrived yet, the audience hadn't arrived yet, but when the audience does arrive, then he does get involved in the action.

One senses a man who is always on stage, and that the stage is a very real place for him. Again, this is the theme he states he is playing, and it seems like he can document it very well.

This man is under 5'6", small but muscular and quick in reactions. And it seems that the rep he's trying to maintain is that of a little giant-killer. And he manages to set everybody up as a giant, even if the guy might not see himself as a giant. Another point that has been brought out is the importance the man places on having everybody like him and everybody see him as a good guy, including the giants that he whips. And this comes into every pattern: he carries the sequence out until he eventually shows that the guy is now a good friend of his.

Appendix C

This man's pattern appears to be one of taking advantage of others through procedures such as cheating in gambling, short-changing, blatantly running out on his wife, informing, and eventually using up his credit with the victims of his cheating efforts. He tried rather clumsily to ward off any open attack or reprisal, but when cornered, does fight. Once he senses that he might have the upper hand in the fight, he becomes extra aggressive and extra vicious. There's some feeling there of having lost status by having the fact that he was trying to cheat uncovered. He may be trying to get back some sense of his own manhood or some sense of his own worth by being over-aggressive in a situation where he can look somewhat powerful.

In the sequence of events, it seems that once he is caught and people are ready to accuse him, or it's blatantly clear that he's been cheating, he isn't able to confess or he doesn't just run off and terminate the game, but that he still tries to deny, and this leads to his getting in a corner, with the aggression coming out in the victims, and the ultimate conflict.

This aspect in the pattern comes out in the interviewing process also, because in most instances one has to infer the dishonesty from circumstantial evidence. For instance, the police mysteriously arrive after his wife has damaged two of his teeth with no mention of his having done anything to her, and in two cases in which he is attacked after having gambled, there's no mention of any possible provocation for these attacks, although it is obvious he must have been cheating. And in an incident in the prison stockade, the first indication we have of his having been an informer, is that somebody comes and calls him a snitch after which, as usual, he gets vicious.

Appendices D and E

Sample Inmate Interviewer Comments Relating to Inmate Interviewees

Appendix D

Although the subject came to the interview in his work clothes, which were covered with paint, it is obvious that he takes pride in his appearance. His build is stocky and he stays in shape by constant exercise. He has a harelip and numerous scars on his face.

Because the subject has not been involved in an act of violence for almost three years, it would seem that he has, as he claims, undergone a change. In his own words, "I've only been thinking for about two years. I used to be a low-rider and talk myself into being stupid. I've got purpose now." The subject's story is best described in his own words.

"When I was a kid I had no home life; no discipline. I could go and come and do what I wanted to. I've always been envious of people who had a home and not just a house. A home is where you get love and concern. To compensate I went to the street and joined a clique. A group of guys was my home, my family, because we could depend on each other. There was little verbal communication as there was no need for any. We understood how each other felt. Communication isn't dependent on words, but on feelings. I joined the Hell's Angels and had to prove I was somebody by whipping people. Then it became fun. I did a lot of crude things; things I wouldn't even want my mother to know. I guess I was just a boy-man. Finally I got in trouble and went to jail and found these same clique-friends. I guess this was one of my biggest mistakes, running with guys who accepted me without really knowing me. I'd play my tough guy role and they'd accept me."

"I started to change when I'd see a guy on the yard do something stupid...and I'd think to myself, 'What a stupid punk'. Then, maybe a week later, I'd find myself doing the same thing. Of course at first I wouldn't admit that I was a punk too."

"The biggest thing that happened was when I walked away from a fight the first time. The feeling was between being a coward, and that I'd done the right thing. One thing, though, I couldn't explain these feelings to any of the guys I knew."

Apparently the subject needed new friends to support his newly acquired values.

"When I started to avoid trouble I discovered that I could get along with the people I had been hasseling with. If I couldn't, then I could always walk away without losing face. I started looking at myself personally; my actions, and the way I talked to people. I soon realized that many of my past actions had been my fault."
"It's easy to think of doing the right thing, but it's still hard at times for me to do the right thing. I had to learn to say, 'pardon me,' 'excuse me,' 'and I'm sorry, it was my fault'. I guess too, I developed a sense of humor rather than being hard faced.
"I've had my problems with custody too. I guess they just don't believe that people can change, or that they may want to. A lot of the 'bulls' try to hold you down from being a man by using their ball point pen. But now I know that there are even some good 'bulls'. Besides, it never did do much good for me to curse them out or talk out of the side of my mouth."
"Now, I have to continue to practice my new way of living, and learn to judge what I'm doing. And I will."

Appendix E

The subject is chubby, dark-complected, and has the distinctive aquiline nose, prominent cheek bones, and coarse black hair of an Indian. He has a disfiguring scar on his upper lip that gives one the impression of his having a perpetual sneer. He rarely smiles, and when he does it is only facially.

There is, between the interviewers, two different interpretations as to the motivation of the subject's violence. One interpretation seems to be influenced by the subject's storied loquaciousness rather than the incidents themselves. Is the subject's behavior, as he claims, the result of his being an Indian leader, and having to intercede in their behalf, or is it because of his need to establish a personal reputation as a prison tough guy? I choose the latter interpretation; an interpretation based on how the subject has behaved, not how he thinks he has behaved. His behavior speaks for itself, and it is this physical language that must be interpreted, not the words that are being shaped by the subject's psychological mechanisms.

We can't discount the fact that the subject is an Indian. He looks like one, he was raised as one, and he thinks like one. An Indian functions within the rigid framework of rules. "There are family codes, tribal codes, and Indian laws," is how he puts it. But there is also another link in the sequence that must be considered. A joint code that he is well aware of. "The cons have their own rules, and one of them is that they step on the weak." The subject has already learned that unity is power. On the reservation his brother is a sub-chief and a member of the tribal council. "Our family ran the reservation. We did whatever we wanted to and no one ever messed with us." The subject has to belong and his attitude, which is domineering and demanding, dictates that the method to use is violence. In prison, the Indians that the subject begins to associate with just happen to be low-riders. Even though he is well versed in Indian culture he is not accepted as a leader.

The first incident that the subject becomes involved in is the rat-packing of an Indian child-molester in order to ostracize and punish the molester, and also to solidify his position among the low-riders. So, rather than being a leader of these Indians, he is using his Indian blood to further his own ends. He wants to be a tough con, someone to be feared and respected. "The new guys that come in, no one knows about them." "Once you get a reputation you have to protect it." The above statements, and others similar in nature, were made by the subject during the course of the interview. There, significance is self-evident.

How does the subject go about building a reputation? As he says, fighting for home-boys, and interceding for other Indians? No. Of the 10 incidents--actually 9, because #1 and #9 are the same--#6 no violence occurred; #2 involved helping a friend, although the details were vague; #7 was a fight of his own making; #9 he was attacked, and #10 was the rat-packing incident. The remaining four involved custody. He was proudest of #8. In regards to this incident the following dialogue occurred.

I: Do you think this incident helped your reputation?

S: It sure as hell did. I knocked down the Captain.

I: How did you feel just before you knocked him down?

S: Like a big man.

I: During?

S: I sure am doing it right this time.

I: Now?

S: Pretty funny.

The subject is also proud of the fact that at one time he had spat on the warden.

Obviously the subject feels that these things scare people, when in fact they are childish and impress only those who would do the same thing to build what they consider to be a feared reputation.

Why use custody? Although there are certainly cases in which custody has beaten convicts, they don't generally beat anyone to death. They don't stab or maim, and rarely hospitalize their victims. The extent of damage is usually a few lumps, perhaps a few scars, and the realignment of some teeth. For the subject, the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages, as he is able to build a reputation on these beatings, and without seriously endangering his own life. We must resolve the inconsistencies between what the subject says and his behavior.

The word circulates that he has fought with the 'bulls', implying that he will jump on a convict with little provocation. The facts are never pursued, but accepted prima facie, because those who pass on these rumors and exaggerations are the very ones who are most impressed by them. The rumor returns and the subject begins to believe his own yard reputation. These seeds need only to be planted; they will be cultivated by the rumor-mongers.

Our subject has completed the building of his reputation, petty though it is, and now he and his low-rider friends can observe and honor it. Not that the cons on the yard do, but the subject feels that they do, and this is all that really matters. If anything he is tolerated, not respected and feared as he would like.

SOME NOTES ON "THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF VIOLENCE" BY HANS TOCH

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Violence and typology

I found the paper by Hans Toch one of the more interesting of those presented to this conference. The violent offender presents problems of a different order from the offender who limits his attention to property. There may be some offenders who may incidentally be involved in some violent act, whose crime is in the main of a non-violent nature, but in general it seems that it is possible to consider the violent offender (and offenses involving violence) as of a different category from financial and property offenders (and offenses). Acceptance of this implicit typology is, perhaps, central to an acceptance of the value of Hans Toch's analysis in the present paper.

I am not sure to what extent this underlying typology is true for different cultures. My experience is mainly of the British culture, and both subjective impressions and some research studies made in that country would support a typology along these lines. For example, a cluster analysis of the Criminal Statistics for England and Wales, using time as a base, suggested that crime patterns could be divided into five groups:

1. Murder
2. Other types of homicide
3. Serious crimes against the person
4. Serious crimes against property
5. Social disorganization (drunkenness, disorderly conduct, petty theft, etc.)

Variations in the rates of crime in the different categories seemed to suggest that crime was not a homogeneous concept. Comparison of the within and between group variance of the above categories suggested that the sub-divisions provided a more useful categorization. Another study provided indications that the majority of offenders tended to stay with a particular type of crime (this is to some extent the basis of the utility of the modus operandi index) but there were some who could be termed 'mixers'. Some authorities regarded these 'mixers' as the psychopathic offenders who constituted a rather small fraction of the total criminal population. (I do not, however, want to be associated with any definitions of 'psychopath', but mention this as an illustration.)

Some of the incidents recorded as case histories in Toch's paper would, according to English Law, be classified as offenses which are included within the category given above as a 'social disorganization index', and not as 'serious crimes against the person'. An offender who takes a swipe at the arresting police officer may be reacting only to the situation involving the policeman, and not to the more general social situation in which he would normally find himself. In other words, the violence factor may be a specific factor in the policeman/suspect relationship, such that analogous situations do not occur in the life of the suspect outside this narrow range of interpersonal contact. I doubt that these types of cases rightly fall to be classified as 'violent offenders'. Perhaps some of these factors need further exploration at some time, but I do not think they are sufficiently serious to invalidate the work reported.

Time and sequence

The case histories and the theory developed make it clear that the sequence of events is critical in any situation leading to an expression of violence. Unfortunately, at present, it has not been possible to separate two different dimensions--sequence and time. I am not sure that the analysis is complete without some indication of the relationship between these two related components. In international affairs the idea of a 'cooling off' period as a means of prevention of conflict or the degeneration of a conflict situation, has long been regarded as of importance. This 'cooling off' concept is related to the component of time rather than to the concept of sequence of events. If a particular event could be attenuated such that it took longer to complete the event (although it remained essentially the same event) would this not make a considerable difference in the outcome? If this is so, then perhaps we have here a variable which is more easily amenable to manipulation than that of sequence. It might not be claiming too much to suggest that the main safeguard afforded by many legal procedures is in that they attenuate the events which might otherwise degenerate into more serious threats to social order. Many complaints are made about 'the law's delays' but the delays of the law are not totally disfunctional. There may be limits to the attenuation which will be tolerated by participants in any situation; the law, as it were, may be taken into their own hands because the delay could not be accepted by one or more of the parties involved. But perhaps I have already said enough to indicate the difference between time and sequence, and the possible relevance to the study of violence of both factors. I realize, of course, that time is going to be a difficult variable to assess or measure by the use of recall techniques. Subjective time under conditions of stress is not likely to be very closely related to clock time. The pulse rate may be expected to increase and other physiological changes attend the violence-potential situation. These physiological changes I would expect to be related to changes in subjective time. I assume that somebody must have done some work on this, but unfortunately I do not have access at this time to the papers which I would like to search.

As I say, time would be a difficult variable to handle in the data collection stage, and it would be expected to be different from subjective time of the participants in any violence--prone situation. This possibility, looked at one way, is a problem of methodology, but looked at another way it may indicate how some progress might be made. If I am right about subjective time changing as some function of the physiological tension in the participants, then perhaps the difference between subjective time and measured time could be a useful indicator variable with which we could operate. One simple statistic could be the subjective estimate of time from the beginning to the end of the incident as made by the two parties to the violent incident. Would the 'aggressor's' subjective estimate be less than the victim's estimate or greater? Can we state a theory which would allow us to make predictions? Perhaps in some incidents a number of key points in the development of the situation could be noted such that both in the victim's account and the aggressor's account these could be identified and a separate estimate of time be requested from each party. Another way in which the subjective time variable might be investigated would be to obtain estimates of subjective time in regard to the same incident at different times. Would the estimates of time tend to change in any systematic way as the period of time from the incident to its recall lengthened? If so, what further inferences could be made from any trends in this variable? I think that these kinds of data would be worth collecting and relating to any existing theory of psycho-biological and socio-biological factors. (There was a recent symposium organized by the National Institute of Mental Health on socio-biological factors and although I do not remember that anything reported in this book was directly relevant, I have the impression that there may be some phenomena which could be relevant if related to other significant variables.)

Verbal aggression

Verbal ability, verbal conditioning, patterns of coding and de-coding of concepts in different linguistic forms and other aspects of verbal exchanges have recently been studied from somewhat different angles. In particular I have in mind the work of Basil Bernstein who has shown that patterns of working-class speech differ in form from middle-class speech. He is not discussing accent or intelligence, indeed he has shown that the correlation between G and V differs for different classes--the working class regression departing from the general pattern as intelligence increases. He relates this to patterns of encodification. Others have shown the relationship between class and the acceptability of violence and physical expression. Hans Toch raises something like this consideration when he refers to situations defined as 'requiring violence'. These patterns of definition of acceptability are, I suspect, related to class, but may, more fundamentally, be related to patterns of linguistic coding. Bernstein, to illustrate a rather complex point which I cannot reproduce here, sets out two short one-act plays which begin and end with the same situation. One-act play number 1, is, briefly:

Situation: Mother and child get on bus

Mother: 'old on tight

Child: Why?

Mother: 'old on tight!

Child: Why?

Mother: Bloddy well 'old on tight!!!

Child: No

Mother bashes child; child is safely seated; bus proceeds,

One-act play number 2

Situation same:

Mother: Hold on tight dear

Child: Why?

Mother: The bus might stop suddenly and you might get thrown and hurt.

Child: Why might the bus stop suddenly?

Mother: There might be something in the road

Child: Why?

Mother: That's enough dear

Takes child firmly and seats it safely; bus proceeds.

The class distinction is apparent. What is less often recognized is that the information content of the two sets is quite different. In the latter case the child is being force-fed with information which it may not see as relevant nor react to in any different way from the working-class child, but the pattern of conditioning and the things which are seen as being useful in conditioning by the two classes are quite different. These situations repeat many dozens of times in different forms each day of the children's lives. The IDEA that behavior can be conditioned by verbal factors (and information) is a predominantly middle-class concept.

I have, of course, indicated only in the most sketchy terms the nature of Bernstein's theory and work. I have, however, I hope said enough to suggest that there may be a relationship between verbal patterns (not identically equal to verbal ability) and the tendency to violent reaction; and I have suggested that a factor related to social class is likely to be important.

Perhaps if training could be given so as to change the nature of the 'verbal coding process', it might be possible to exchange violence for verbal aggression. What, in any case, is the relationship between verbal aggression and physical expression of aggression? Surely there is some relationship. It would appear that if we could ascertain something about this relationship we might be able to identify a variable which could be changed by some training program. I wonder if this is not, at least in part, what the training given in the groups in NEW CAREERS is doing. Does not the interpersonal situation generated there lead to a realization that linguistic patterns and systems can be utilized to achieve ends which were previously sought by direct action?

Means of study

I have suggested further variables which seem to me to be worth study, not as criticism of what has already been done, but rather with the view of developing the basic concepts which seem to me to be extremely valuable. I should, nonetheless, have liked to see more of the methods used for recording and analysis of the basic data. I am not sure whether I would be satisfied if I could be clear as to the precise means used for recording and classification. I am interested to know whether the philosophy underlying the systems of recording and classification lead to an inference system based on the idea of 'cause-effect', or whether these methods could be related to a more complex set of hypotheses than that of a simple relationship. Perhaps I can make clear what I have in mind by discussing briefly a problem which seems to me to be closely analogous.

During the 1939/45 war and for a short period after, I was engaged in flying safety research. Flying accidents are complex situations; seldom does an accident occur when only one thing goes wrong with the system of either men or machines. There are also complex communication problems in flying which involve interactions between the crew members, the machine, and the ground control systems. The fact that one member of the interaction group is a mechanism and not a human is not very significant in analyzing the processes of an accident. When I first began work in this area, accidents were examined and the 'cause' of each was ascertained and coded. Let me take a simple but infrequent example. It was not unknown for pilots to put up the undercarriage (wheels) at the end of the landing run. This would seem to be a very simple case of plain 'pilot error'. But, it is required to put up the flaps at the end of the run. Surely, it may be asked, any trained pilot should be able to distinquish the flap controls from the under-carriage lever. But if we ascribe these types of accidents to 'pilot error', we can consider remidial action only in terms of what we might do to pilots. The 'cause' coding makes it impossible to recover information about these accidents under any other category of classification. But let us take a different view. Instead of 'cause' coding, let us consider what might happen if we adopted a 'systems involved' coding. True, one of the systems involved in such incidents is the pilot--by reason of being captain of the aircraft if for no other reason. The actual operation of the particular controls might be the task of the engineer--if so, he represents another system involved. But the under-carriage may be part of the hydraulic system of the aircraft, and it is possible to see this as also involved. Let me cut out some stages of the logic since I am sure you will be able to make the necessary transitions.

One of the themes in aircraft design was (and I believe still is) 'design for maintenance'. Maintenance is an expensive operation, and functions operated by the same system are placed close together. Now the flaps and the landing gear were operated by the same system--the hydraulics. Therefore, it was logical for the designer to place both the flaps lever and the landing gear lever close together. If the levers were widely separated would the pilots have made so many of these types of errors? It is doubtful. The spacial separation might have changed to configuration, and a change in the configuration is expected to change the outcome. This kind of information would be lost with a 'causal' philosophy of coding, but becomes accessible to an information recovery system based on systemic thinking, (by systemic, I mean relating to systems; I do not mean systematic). This is, of course, a very simple and even perhaps obvious example, but nonetheless a true one. In more complex situations the necessity for a systemic codification becomes even more a necessity. And there are other reasons for departing from the causal model in the basic procedures of recording as well as at all other stages of inference. Suppose we know the 'cause' in a complex situation. It does not follow that a reversal of the causal process would result in prevention of the incident we wish to avoid. The way forward to a situation is not necessarily the way back. For example, it might be thought that the 'cause' of the lack of violent crime in England and Wales is related in some way to the fact that the police are not usually armed. Certainly I would hazard a strong guess that if the police were to be armed this would 'cause' a rise in violent crime and the use of weapons by the criminal population. However, I do not think it would be a simple matter for the police in the United States to be disarmed. The whole field of criminology is full of situations of this kind. To know the 'cause' would merely satisfy idle curiosity; it would have no utility. The 'cause' is merely history.

Of course, I would be prepared to go a lot further into critical analysis of the concept of cause, and at more satisfactory levels of discussion; the preceding comments are extremely loose. I do not even accept that the 'cause' can be known in a complex case, but rather that we must construct a model which can only be probablistic.

Is it possible to see the violence situation in terms of 'systems involved'? Or, developing the analogue of the aircraft accident slightly further, it is possible and profitable to see the aircraft as an environment, specified by the type and mark of the machine, crew routines and the like. The accident is considered in relation to this 'environment'. Can the violence incident be seen in relation to an 'environment'. Can the violence incident be seen in relation to an environment which can be specified in some ways? In some cases of violence it might be possible to consider the violence-generating situation as a disturbance of the normal situation of the environment. Anything which could be classified as non-normal then provides a clue to the disturbance of the systemic structure which may result in violence. In cases where violence is the normal reaction, clearly the total situation is different. But this returns me to a point I made earlier of definitions of situations which, in terms of the participant's perception, require violence as a solution.

It would appear to me that the perception of 'normality' is of considerable importance in analysis of violence. In the case where policemen are involved, the incident would not take place if the police officer perceived the situation in the first place as 'normal'. We might then consider one systemic analysis in terms of sub-systems which departed in some way from 'normal', as perceived by the two parties in the incident. In the simplest terms, could not both parties be asked specifically what was 'abnormal' about the behavior of the other, and what was perceived as 'abnormal' as the time and sequence of events moved along towards the climax. For example, in the case given on page 16/17, the first abnormal factor to the police officer was the 'location' of suspect. Similar systems of coding could, I think, be developed.

Perhaps all of these suggestions have already been considered by the research workers concerned, and some may have been found useless. If I am totally off-the-beam, I hope to learn more of the study so that I can adjust my own thinking; but in any case I have enjoyed thinking about the problem so well discussed and analyzed by Professor Toch.

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